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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to establish from blacks themselves (the term "blacks" is used throughout the report as a collective for Asians, West Indians and Africans) answers to the following questions: why they left their country of origin, why they settled where they did, what were their expectations, what were and are their chances for employment and housing, what is their relationship with authority, to what extent do they participate in local activities, how do parents and youth relate, what are the problems facing black youth, how do they feel about the future, and what is their relationship with and opinions about local community relations councils. To gather information, 1,200 people were interviewed personally or via questionaire in three predominantly black areas in Great Britain. Findings are reported in tables of data and in the form of quotations from interview respondents. The data suggest the presence of two subcultural systems: black and white. The data also indicate that, relatively speaking, black people, especially the older ones, are less future oriented than white people and tend not to trust people they meet. (NK)

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AS THEY SEE IT

A Race Relations Study of Three Areas from a Black Viewpoint

by Lionel Morrison

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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June 1976

The Community Relations Commission was established under the Race Relations Act 1968. Under the Act it has the broad duties:

'(a) to encourage the establishment of, and assist others to take steps to secure the establishment of, harmonious community relations and to co-ordinate on a national basis the measures adopted for that purpose by others; and

(b) to advise the Secretary of State for the Home Department on any matter referred to the Commission by him and to make recommendations to him, on any matter which the Commission considers should be brought to his attention.'

Mr Mark Bonham Carter is its Chairman.

FOREWORD

Reports on the Community Relations Commission and the work of local Community Relations Councils have tended to be studies largely from the viewpoint of the majority population. The writers comment on community relations without themselves being actively engaged in it. Because of this the Commission decided that additional perspectives were necessary, namely those of ethnic minorities and from people experienced in the activity. We asked Lionel Morrison, a black journalist from South Africa to give a personal report on Community Relations work. Morrison himself has been active in Community Relations work for some time. He is currently Deputy Chairman of Brent CRC and before that was their Press Officer. Therefore he combines the skills of a journalist, experience in some responsibility for Community Relations work as well as belonging to a minority community.

Readers should be reminded of the relationship between the Commission and local Community Relations Councils. The former is a statutory body co-ordinating and grant-aiding on a national level the efforts of Community Relations Councils. CRCs are autonomous, voluntary bodies who make their own policies and are the employers of their own community relations officers. Bearing in mind the wide variety of circumstances in which they work, it is not therefore suprising that they differ substantially in their priorities and in their styles of work. It is not part of the Commission's brief to directly control what objectives local councils formulate and their officers seek to achieve. Nor does it determine how these tasks are completed.

We asked Lionel Morrison to investigate ways in which local councils have set about achieving the objectives they have set themselves. This report gives his views and those of the people he spoke to in three areas (Brent, Huddersfield and Wandsworth) on the many sided activities of local councils. It concentrates on the style of work in these areas and since writing, as the author admits, changes have taken place in many aspects of the work. Inevitably it is a personal and partial view; it does not claim to give a complete picture of the range of activities in any of the areas. Some of the points made are critical of certain aspects of the work and are controversial. They are the views of the author. The Commission does not agree with everything Morrison writes nor do local CRCs accept all his comments and judgements. Despite this the Commission considers that the report adds to the discussion of community relations work by adding new dimensions, especially the views of minorities themselves. It will be treated by the Commission not as an investigation presenting incontrovertible facts and judgements, but as a description seen through Morrison's eyes.

A.N. Little
Director of Reference & Technical Services

July 1976

Lionel Morrison is one of the few black journalists in Fleet Street. Born in South Africa, where he worked as a journalist, he came to Britain fifteen years ago. He has since travelled widely in Africa, Asia and the West Indies where he worked for various newspapers.

In Britain, he has contributed to, among others, the BBC and newspapers like the Evening Standard, Sunday Telegraph, New Statesman and New Society. He is very active in the National Union of Journalists, sits on its National Executive Committee, and is also chairman of its Race Relations Sub-committee.

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Introduction

How do you place national race relations trends in a proper perspective locally?

There is no doubt that various research projects and enquiries carried out over the past five years clearly indicate the need for local minority perspective reports which could make the relevancy of such national race relations enquiries and research programmes more obvious, better understood and more easily identifiable.

When these minority perspective reports were mooted the obvious was therefore envisaged,—that these reports would be from a black viewpoint. Not only would the writer be black but the major participants and contributors would be from the local black communities themselves. Obvious, because most race relations reports which claim to cover blacks in this country have never really seriously involved them and have not let them actually speak for themselves. The assumption has always been that black viewpoints needed to be interpreted by whites involved with race relations.

It has been a black argument for some time now that only a black writer and researcher could seriously and truthfully depict, not interpret, black viewpoints with all their innuendos and 'gut' reactions.

The argument continues that because of an intense suspicion that has grown up among blacks who see in practically every white an establishment informer, a do-gooder or a liberal voyeur, it is not easy for a white to establish confidence in a short period and the information which is then fed them cannot be regarded as always reliable or correct. In fact, it is argued, tall stories abound and the gullibility of white reporters, writers and researchers become part of the street gossip among blacks . . . 'how to get one over whitey'.

Whether this line of argument is correct or not (and it would be fair to admit that it has its strong opponents who argue quite logically that you don't necessarily have to be black to write about blacks correctly and sincerely), it is with all this background scenario that I agreed to do these minority perspective reports. Broadly speaking the aim was to establish the following from blacks themselves (right through these reports the term black is used as a collective for Asians, West Indians and Africans):

Why they left their countries of origin; why they settled in the areas discussed; what were their expectations; what were and are their chances of employment

and in housing; what is their relationship to authority and to what extent do they participate in local activities; how do parents and youth relate; what are the problems facing black youngsters; how do they feel about the future and what is their relationship with the local community relations councils and what do they think of them?

The next thing was to choose areas where all these issues could be looked at, areas which shared certain basics like a substantial black population, the presence of a local Community Relations Council and the absence or presence of black organisations.

Three areas were finally chosen. Huddersfield in Yorkshire, the outer London Borough of Brent and the Inner London Borough of Wandsworth. All three areas have a high black concentration:

	Total Population	Black Population
Huddersfield	131,000	12,000
Brent	280,655	39,180
Wandsworth	303,000	30,200

All three areas have a community relations council and none of the three areas have been subjected to this kind of enquiry in any way whatsoever before.

The methodology of enquiry presented some problems initially, depending on familiarity or non-familiarity with the three areas chosen.

Eight months were spent gathering the material and it took two months to collate and analyse all the questionnaires, interviews and figures. The interviews took place between the months of November 1974 and August 1975: in Huddersfield from the beginning of November 1974 to the end of January 1975; Brent from February 1975 to the end of April 1975 and Wandsworth from the beginning of May 1975 to the middle of July 1975.

Interviews with black households were done by personal interviews and by written questionnaires. In addition informal approaches were made in the streets and pubs. Approximately 460 black adults were interviewed, 150 in Huddersfield, 170 in Brent and 140 in Wandsworth. Some of the contacts with the households were made through a personal introduction. These introductions were obtained from a fairly wide variety of sources and from people of different backgrounds.

- *In addition approximately 550 young black people were interviewed by questionnaire or by personal interview. These interviews took place in youth clubs, pubs, record shops, schools, betting shops, street corners. Because of the locality of contact the predominant number among these youngsters interviewed turned out to be unemployed. It would do well to state here that this very high proportion of unemployed black youth is not,*

and was neither then, a true reflection of the state of unemployment in the three areas, especially Brent.

- *Black community leaders were interviewed personally.*
- *Community relations officers, teachers, headmasters, police officers and local journalists were also interviewed personally.*
- *Altogether about 1,200 people were interviewed in the three areas.*
- *Local people were also consulted for their knowledge of the areas concerned.*
- *When analysing the results percentages were in most cases rounded off to the nearest whole.*
- *Quotes have been allowed to stay in their original, except for some alterations in syntax and where sentences were unintelligible. Omissions were made where clear libel was involved.*
- *The original report had to be substantially cut and numerous tables had to be written into the text simply because of length. The quotes included are similarly a small selection of the hundreds obtained during the interviews.*

The questionnaires varied and were geared towards various situations and various areas. Each was fairly open ended and an attempt was made not to direct people. A number of interviewers were employed as helpers, as well as interpreters, especially for the Asian people interviewed.

How easy was it for me as a black writer to establish confidence? It would be unfair to claim that black people greeted me with enthusiasm and openness at the beginning. Suspicion and, at the beginning, antagonism was rife among certain sections of the community, especially the youth. It was essential to get the right kind of contact as introduction to a group and even then bona fides were thoroughly checked. In one case in Brent I had to go out several times to a pub with some youth who thoroughly probed into my background. Only when it was established that I had served some time in prison (in South Africa for my political beliefs where I had been, among other things, an accused in the infamous 1956 Treason Trials), and had written critically in at least one Fleet Street Sunday paper about a certain police officer who had been in Notting Hill and who was well known among the black community, was I accepted and taken into confidence. Co-operation was then easier and in some cases enlightening.

Yet it would be incorrect to give the impression that attempts were not made to 'lead me up the garden path', or that I got truthful answers in response to some questions.

In the areas studied I deliberately avoided wherever possible interviewing the fairly articulate and middle class blacks, except for a few. My reason being the

obvious fact that they are always the ones who are sought out by race relations experts, visiting sociologists, social workers and journalists. Attempts were made to avoid the usual 'spokesman' who had become so readily available to the press on all issues affecting black affairs and black thinking.

In deciding the type of questions to be included in the questionnaires and in the verbal interviews, variables such as perception of nationality and identity, household composition, future orientation, work ethic, relationship with authority and family relationships were used as boundary determinants.

The first few months work indicated a few complexities likely to be involved in attempting even a subjective study within such a short period. To try to encapsulate a life long situation in a few months meant that such a study would naturally as was intended, be impressionistic and subjective, a fact which many race pundits, sociologists and academics would find alarming and 'non-scientific'.

But be that as it may, what is clear is that it is not enough to know the statistical situation as evidenced in numerous other studies; in addition it is just as important, if not more so, to capture the 'gut' feeling of the people studied. For, unfortunately, race attitudes are affected by memories, old legends and near myths. Few race studies have attempted to capture this feeling. This study is one which has tried to involve the people who are usually studied by race experts but whose opinions are not always taken into account.

Two different approaches were used when writing up the perspectives. One approach was used in the Huddersfield and Brent reports and another in the Wandsworth report.

In Huddersfield and Brent the Community Relations Councils and the role of the community relations officers were looked at as one of the many issues affecting the life of blacks in two areas.

In Wandsworth, on the other hand, the enquiry revolved around the Wandsworth Community Relations Council and its CRO. Not only is the Community Relations Council there one of the biggest in the country (employing nearly 30 staff), its activities effectively range over the very perimeters (like employment, housing, attitude to authority etc.) which were within the areas of enquiry in all three reports.

Both approaches naturally reflect the importance and activities of the Community Relations Councils in relation to their respective black communities.

A point worth mentioning at this stage is the fact that the areas chosen, the approaches taken and the choice of people interviewed were entirely my own. All three CROs were notified about my study and all three agreed to place at my disposal information and contacts which I used at will. In the case of Wandsworth I should say that I went to the area somewhat prejudiced against

the CRO and the Wandsworth Council for Community Relations, having been fed with adverse information about the CRO and WCCR over a period.

> *Quite clearly various changes (some positive and welcoming) have taken place in the three areas since the interviews took place. Some of the material might therefore seem to be out of date and 'stirring up old fires'. That might be an understandable reaction; however, what is important is that any up-dating, exclusion or censoring of events which took place or which influenced those interviewed during that period, would surely not be a true reflection from my point of view of what was really happening in the areas concerned or how people interviewed really reacted to events during that period.*

Understandably some of those in the community relations scene might feel that they have been 'hard done' by me. All that I can say is that in all three areas I have tried to be as fair, objective and honest as is possible in my presentation of what blacks really feel in these three areas.

Although the study as a whole is a thoroughly eclectic one, a kind of order does emerge. An analysis of the data shows that some interesting general trends emerge which are worth mentioning now and which will, of course, emerge in greater detail in the enquiries themselves.

One such trend indicates that there are two subcultural systems in Britain, one black and one white. The question then emerging is whether this is related to the social isolation which promotes mutually exclusive social relations on the part of blacks on one hand and whites on the other?

Another interesting indicator drawn from these determinants shows that relatively speaking black people, especially the older ones, are less future orientated; and they tend not to trust most people they meet. Can it be that, unlike whites, blacks have been unable to be orientated to the future here because of the structural circumstances of their lives? Is it because as a group they have had to make continual adaptations to a white-British structure which has destroyed for them an orientation to opportunity and also a belief in other people? Is it therefore why in its place an orientation to survival has rather emerged and is this, thus, one of the basic themes characterising the life of a black man in Britain?

Other pointers show the significance of the group syndrome in interviewing. The phenomenon is illustrated by the different attitudes, and therefore, different answers which emerge when the individual is approached in a group and when he is by himself.

What does flow from the whole report is the different ways the various CROs and CRCs interpret their aims and purposes in relation to the black communities in spite of the fact that they all share a similar constitution.

Obviously one of the main predominants which emerged from the whole study, even at its most elementary level, is that those who are professionals (experts) in the race relations scene have to be taught that those who are being investigated, studied and analysed (the blacks) are **constituents**, not **clients**. This perspective means that the constituent **does know** what some of his problems are and has some notion about how those problems might be solved. The client relationship implies that the client knows nothing about what is wrong with him and is unable in any way to participate in the final resolution of his problem. This client relationship unfortunately runs deep in the race relations field.

> ***What definitely does emerge from these perspectives is a recognition of the new mood of the black presence in this country, that they (the blacks) understand the need and importance of evaluating themselves by their own criteria, evolved from their own experience in Britain and the consciousness that that produces.***

A final observation: It can be fairly asked as this stage if this collection of minority perspectives has discovered any new 'keys' to race relations, any fresh solutions. Although there is a new sophistication and refreshing frankness in the numerous interviews, it is only honest to admit that they do not all foretell of a very promising future for race relations in this country. At best there is a quiet hope that a new generation of consciously aware blacks will, with the help of a more fundamental knowledge and awareness of their history and the social sciences, somehow confront what someone else, somewhere else, has so aptly called the 'farce' of race relations.

Section One: Huddersfield

'Our fame is known all over the world'—headline in the Huddersfield Examiner, Borough Centenary Supplement.

THE SETTING

Huddersfield is an industrial town lying in the foothills of the Pennines. Like the other towns in West Riding it manages to combine the amenities of a large textile and wool centre with a countryside which ranges from bleak moorland to well watered valleys. The town is compact, and is a successful mixture of 19th century solidity and interesting modern development. The inner town, in common with many others in Britain, has changed rapidly in the past 30 years with the wealthier residents moving out to the suburbs and the poor, often the newcomers, living in bad conditions centrally until they are gradually rehoused.

The growth of the town can be gauged by the fact that in 1801 the population as a whole was not much over 7,000; a hundred years later it was just over 94,000 and in 1971 it was 131,000.

Since local government reorganisation Huddersfield has been merged with the neighbouring Dewsbury and Batley County boroughs and eight former Urban Districts to make the new Kirklees Metropolitan Authority.

The main industry in Huddersfield was wool textile manufacture which explains the numerous textile mills and the reasonable textile prices in the area. There is no doubt that the town's reputation in the world has been linked with the fine worsted industry. This industry still employs a substantial proportion of the labour force especially black workers who, through their presence in the area for the past 20 years, have helped rescue a branch of industry which has, according to the Industrial Correspondent of the Huddersfield Examiner in 1968, 'rather been at the back of the queue in acquiring labour'. 'The situation', the same correspondent wrote, 'has been relieved latterly, however, by immigrants and female labour from South Yorkshire being employed in the wool textile mills'.

There has been a steady expansion of other industries, notably engineering and chemicals.

Unemployment has remained below the national average throughout most of the last 30 years. At 1.5% it is one of the lowest in the country and the lowest in Yorkshire and Humberside where it is exactly twice that number. And there has been a demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour in the manufacturing, transport (Passenger Transport Authority) and service industries.

Figures from the 1971 Census show that Huddersfield has the highest proportion of people born outside the UK in any West Riding County borough,—11.7%. The figure for the whole of West Riding is 152,260—4%, and Kirklees about 5.4%.

The 1971 census figures indicate some interesting points.

- *The black community is generally a young one in Huddersfield. There are, for instance, 66 blacks over 65 years out of a total population of 18,893. And in Batley 78 out of a total of 2,641 are over 65.*
- *The majority of black people in Kirklees are 'true' immigrants, ie they have come to Kirklees from abroad. In Huddersfield probably half of the black population are not immigrants but natives of the town. In Dewsbury, the figure is about one-third native population and in Batley about two-fifths.*

The black population of Kirklees is about 5.4% and this is well above the 2.6% for the country as a whole. If Huddersfield, Dewsbury and Batley are excepted, however, the black community in Kirklees is very low indeed. The total black population outside these three conurbations is less than one thousand out of a total population of 370,000. And even within these three urban centres, the black population is not evenly and uniformly distributed. In Dewsbury, the total population is 51,000, 3,451 of whom are black. About 1,534 blacks live in one ward, Thornhill North, which has a total population of 7,842—about 20%. In the adjacent ward of Thornhill South (8,599) there are only 15 blacks. Of the total Dewsbury population, about 3,000 blacks live in three central wards with a total population of roughly 15,000. The remaining 451 are dispersed in the other six wards with a total population of 36,000.

Although no precise figures are available, the breakdown of the 12,000 plus blacks in Huddersfield are approximately as follows:

- *West Indians from Jamaica and the Windward Islands and a small number from Trinidad and Barbados* — *6,000*
- *Pakistani Moslems from rural areas in the Punjab (West Pakistan) especially from Canal Colony settlements in the Lyallpur District, although there are numbers from Sina, Kashmir, North-West Frontier and Bangladesh* — *4,000*
- *Indian Sikhs from rural areas in the Punjab, especially Jullundur* — *2,000*

There are small numbers of Gujerati-speaking Asians who have mostly emigrated from Bombay or East Africa, Chinese from Hong Kong or Singapore and Central Europeans.

A5

Why they came?

Mr Senior, joint owner of the Paddock Social Club, near Paddock, a suburb of Huddersfield:

> *When I first arrived here and went for a job as a bus driver, the white inspector was convinced that I could not write or read so would not be able to do the job.*

Mr Senior came to Huddersfield 20 years ago from Jamaica.

> *I left the West Indies because I wanted to better myself. I heard about the job possibilities in Britain and decided to come here.*

Blacks also came to Huddersfield for educational or family reasons.

Bashir Ahmad, a chemistry teacher at Almonbury Secondary School, is a typical example of those who came for educational reasons from Pakistan. He gave an extensive interview to Denis Kilcommons of **'The Huddersfield Examiner'**, in which he discusses some of the reasons for coming.

> *There were three children in our family, a sister and two brothers. My sister is the eldest and she got married before we grew up and has her own family. My brother is two years younger than me and is in the army. He has recently been promoted to junior commissioned officer.*
>
> *We had an elder brother who was in the army and who was killed at the time of partition. He left two sons and a widow. Two years later his wife died and the two sons were left to my father to look after.*

He went to Lahore for his post graduate degree and afterwards accepted a job as a chemistry lecturer at a degree college at Lyallpur affiliated to the University of the Punjab in Lahore. During his three and a half years there he became head of the chemistry department.

> *It was while I was lecturing at the college that my father died. I had to take responsibility for my mother, two orphaned nephews and other needy relatives.*
>
> *At this time very few people in Pakistan knew that as citizens of the Commonwealth they had a right of entry to this country.*
>
> *The only way people had a chance to come here was either in an official capacity or in the Merchant Navy. They knew there were better chances for work in England and those who managed to sneak through probably thought they had cheated the authorities.*

He made sure his family was provided for and came with his colleague to Huddersfield where accommodation had been arranged for them.

We were both confident and had high hopes for getting a good job. But the experiences of the first few months were discouraging and disappointing.

At that time it was mainly men who used to come as immigrants. And when they felt their boys back home were coming of age they sent for them to join them in this country.

I don't think the majority came with the intention of settling permanently, but because of better opportunities for jobs.

Why have so many come over the years?

Of 100 West Indians interviewed it is apparent that only a small minority had the necessary educational qualifications or occupational skills to be assured a secure income in the West Indies. A majority interviewed had been born in villages, but as they put their last address in the West Indies as Bridgetown or Kingston, it was obvious they had already joined the growing exodus to the urban areas before coming here.

Of 150 Pakistanis and Sikhs interviewed, economic as well as opportunities for educational advancement tended to be the main reasons.

Those interviewed were asked the questions:

Why did you leave your home country?

Why did you come to Britain?

Six out of ten West Indians and Indians and seven out of ten Pakistanis gave economic reasons for leaving their respective countries. Three out of ten Indians and West Indians left their countries for 'travel and experience' reasons, whereas six out of a hundred Pakistanis left for education reasons compared to one out of a hundred West Indians and three out of a hundred Indians. Extracts from interviews give a clear idea of the motives:

Economic:

- *I was told there were good jobs waiting. You did not need to have a good education.—an Antiguan foundry worker.*
- *I saw jobs available in the 'Gleaner', and thought, well, here's my chance. —bus driver.*
- *My father said to me, 'Son, there are good jobs going overseas. Go and see.' —Moslem shopkeeper in Bradford Road.*

Further Education:

I came over to study. Although I had to work during the day I found that I was able to go to classes in the evening. I finally got my 'O' levels.— Jamaican textile foreman.

- *I thought a British degree would be helpful, although I finally did not make it.—Pakistani bus driver.*

Travel:

- *I wanted a change and liked the idea. I thought, why not.—West Indian worker at ICI.*

- *We heard so much about the British. I was curious to see for myself.—Sikh businessman.*

It is interesting to note that two out of ten West Indians came to Huddersfield because they had friends and family there and four out of ten because of deliberate recruitment by either the British government or some other British Agency. On the other hand five out of ten Asians came because they had friends and family and only three out of a hundred because of recruitment.

Despite all the reasons why blacks came to Britain and Huddersfield, many of them still harbour thoughts of returning to their countries. This half acceptance of their permanency here has resulted in a schizophrenic attitude towards life in Huddersfield. Their minds are still in their countries of birth and this is one reason for their non-involvement in local affairs and is possibly a reason for any instability in their home life.

Mr Aujla of Fixby, who is President of the Supreme Council of the Sikhs, UK, sums up this attitude when he says:

> *A big problem facing immigrant families is the mentality that exists because most of them are still hoping to return to their homelands.*
>
> *There are instances of families who have been in this country two or more decades who have still not made their minds up where they are going to settle.*
>
> *This dubious state of affairs has created instability in the home life and has affected their children as well, because they don't know if they are coming or going.*

This view is supported by Mrs Cynthia Geddes of Trinity Street, the first West Indian Health visitor in Huddersfield.

> *Those West Indians in Huddersfield who go about saying they will be returning to the West Indies are only bluffing themselves. They are here to stay. But what is worrying is the insecurity and uninvolvement in local affairs which such an attitude generates.*

Although the majority of blacks (six out of ten) who came to Britain came here with the **intention** of returning to their countries of origin, findings in Huddersfield and elsewhere indicate that these are only **intentions** and vague ones at that.

'Yes, I would like to return,' was a typical response. But when questioned further, many conceded that the future of their children was here in Huddersfield, that they would be economically worse off if they returned and that in any case they still wanted to save 'those thousands' they had intended to save when they first came, before finally returning. On further questioning five out of ten admitted that that would not be possible within their life span.

The **intention** to return was more a cover under which they could hide from the harsh realities of British life. To many it acts as a hope, an escape mechanism to help them continue living in a foreign and, in many instances, a hostile environment, without becoming too involved in playing their role in the community as a whole.

Like other urban conurbations, Huddersfield has suffered inner city stresses. The centre parts of the town, near the famous Spring Grove School, developed as a popular residential area for the old established families in the 19th century. With the influx of blacks into Huddersfield since the middle fifties, the changes which were already taking place in the central parts of the town were now accelerated. The richer, established families moved out to the suburban areas and the majority of the new influx of blacks and poor whites were concentrated in the inner town—a familiar pattern not only in Britain but also in America. West Indian clubs and Asian shops soon vied with each other for physical prominence and the local Spring Grove school acted as a barometer of the black influx into that part of the town.

Blacks set up respectable clubs, shebeens (illegal drinking places) and other businesses which became the centre for most of the social and political activities among the black community.

The Spring Grove area was then dubbed as a black slum area, 'full of vice' as a white liberal explained to me, and it became 'politic' to remove 'this eyesore' from the centre of Huddersfield. A massive redevelopment scheme was set into motion, nearly all the houses demolished or condemned and new public buildings went up in their place.

Where are they living now?

Some are still eking out an existence in the condemned housing, whilst others have been rehoused in council housing in Birkby, Fartown, Sheepridge and Lockwood. Although the local housing authority deny any conscious discrimination in housing blacks in particular areas, an examination of Council housing in Birkby, Fartown, Sheepridge and Lockwood suburbs, show a fairly high concentration of blacks.

West Indians are concentrated mainly in Birkby, Fartown, Sheepridge and Highlands, and Asians in Lockwood and Thornton Lodge.

'It is like a small Asian village,' a Pakistani shopkeeper remarked about

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Lockwood, where every nine out of ten shops are Asian and whole rows of streets are Asian.

'Most Asians are owner occupiers. It is quite natural that we should wish to live together, near relatives and friends. It makes for peace and closer neighbour relationships. Since we have our own culture, own values and own language, we feel safer living with each other in a foreign country,' he said.

But the wisdom of this viewpoint was challenged by Mr and Mrs Iqbal from Fartown. They live in a quiet area in a better part of Fartown. Mrs Iqbal is a nursery teacher and is also Secretary of the International Women's Society. Her husband—'Bill' to his white friends—is a former Pakistani air force officer.

> *We teach our children to think that they are Pakistani as well as British, although we have refrained from teaching them Punjabi. They will later pick up this language. Although at the moment it is more important for them to understand and talk English. We cannot go on insulating ourselves. What then happens is that the white community does not get to know us, and builds up many myths about us, as we do about them.*

> *We deliberately came to live here, away from the area where there is a predominance of Pakistanis. After all we came to Huddersfield voluntarily and not to form another Pakistani village. We have to get on with the job of understanding Huddersfield and what better way than to live among the people of this country.*

But the Iqbals are fortunate to own their own house. The majority of blacks, especially West Indians, don't and have to put up with drab council housing with poor facilities which has resulted in some blacks refusing to move to these 'special' black council housing areas.

The essence of the problem in Huddersfield is not so much homelessness (a negligible percentage generally, although as will be discussed later, a growing problem among West Indian youth) as the quality of housing available.

'Some of us feel that the council offer us these houses because white families have refused to have them. Apart from that, when you concentrate blacks in one area you naturally inhibit whites from coming to that area. Racialism is unfortunately still there whether one likes it or not', a Jamaican weaver in a grey looking council house in Birkby said, 'The council is also less inclined to improve existing facilities or add new facilities in areas where blacks abound,' he added.

These viewpoints are supported in the interviews and questionnaires.

In response to the question, **Are you satisfied with the area you live in?** and **If you had a choice would you move somewhere else?**, almost 60% of the Asians said they were happy where they were, whereas only 30% of West Indians said they were happy and about 70% said they would like to move somewhere else.

When asked, **whether or not they had the same chances of buying their own houses as whites, or if they found it more difficult** a substantial number (70%) said they found it more difficult.

It was difficult to establish from the respondents whether they themselves had been the victims of discrimination. In quite a few instances after further questioning, they admitted that although they themselves had not suffered discrimination per se, friends and relatives had informed them of their experiences and their (the respondents) attitudes had been based on this second hand information.

Five out of ten among those interviewed thought that the local council discriminated against blacks in housing, and six out of ten believed that estate agents discriminated against black house buyers. Seven out of ten believed that there was discrimination practiced by white landlords towards blacks who wanted accommodation and six to seven out of ten thought not enough was being done by the local authority in housing blacks.

- *I am paying a very high rate for my mortgage—about 17 per cent interest, much more than my white neighbour. Of course when I came to look at the house the neighbours who were white tried to stop us from buying it. They spread rumours about in the street before we even moved in. It has taken us a long time to settle down.—Jamaican weaver in a new estate.*
- *When I first inquired about a house, I was told it was already sold. Yet they went on advertising it for three weeks. I know it was not sold then.—Pakistani shopkeeper.*
- *I just know, although I don't have proof that estate agents prefer white clients to blacks.—West Indian bus driver.*

Employment

Just as blacks find themselves concentrated, both consciously and unintentionally, in certain residential areas, so also do they land up in certain categories of jobs which are usually the type of work or a branch of industry which many whites attempt to avoid and which have 'rather been at the back of the queue in acquiring labour'.

Most of the blacks in Huddersfield seem to have been accepted into the textile trade, whilst the remainder have been drawn into Imperial Chemical Industries or David Brown's, two of the largest industrial concerns in the area. Among those which make heavy demands for black labour are wool textiles, textile machinery, dyeing (L.B. Holidays, a dyeing factory, employs 800 workers 90% of whom are black), light and medium engineering (for example, Hopkinson Engineering Works) foundries and the building industry. In addition blacks also provide an essential part of the labour force in the public services, in

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particular the local Kirklees Metropolitan Transport Services. Local hospitals are also served in both quantity and quality at all levels: it is a fact that Huddersfield hospitals would virtually cease to function without this help. A number of Pakistani and Indian males are skilled operatives in the textile trade where there are opportunities for spinners, menders and weavers. West Indians supply the great bulk of labour in heavy engineering—in machine shops, foundries and pipe works.

Generally black workers tend to obtain the jobs which white workers value least. This is not something peculiar to Huddersfield but rather in line with trends throughout the country wherever blacks are congregated.

The black migrants as they arrived in Huddersfield had fairly realistic views of their employment possibilities and aspirations. This is in marked contrast to the high and sometimes unrealistic job aspirations some of the black school leavers now understandably do have.

In answer to the question: **What kind of work did you want when you came to Britain/Huddersfield?** 60% said they had no particular kind of job in mind when they left their country of origin, or when they arrived in this country.

But of the 40% who had definite ideas and were asked: **Did you get the job you were hoping to get once you had made up your mind?** 80% said they had. About 15-20% of their expectations were not fulfilled and among these, 10% thought their expectations had in the circumstances been too unrealistic.

- *I was a painter at home and looked for a painting and decorating job when I arrived in Huddersfield. I got it.—West Indian decorator.*
- *I was a bus driver in Lahore and came looking for a similar job.—38-year-old bus driver from Thornton Lodge.*
- *I looked for work in a textile mill and got twisting work. That was the work I wanted. I am happy there.—34-year-old Pakistani father from Thornton Lodge.*
- *I looked for work as a book binder but could not get one. I became a weaver instead. I would still like to become a book binder.—42-year-old Trinidadian from Fartown.*

What is not in doubt in Huddersfield is the fact that black settlers are over represented in some fields of employment and very much under represented in others. There are jobs where West Indians dominate and others where Asians abound. There are many factors responsible for this particular distribution. One most probably is the language or communication problem faced by Asians which makes employers reluctant to employ them. There is also great cohesion among Asians which makes them look for jobs where there are other Asians through whom and with whom they can safely communicate and who can act as a buffer between them and the English speaking employers.

When questioned on how they got their jobs, 30% of the West Indians said they found their jobs through friends already working at the factories or through family whereas 60% of the Asians found their jobs through relatives or friends already working at the factory.

Sixty per cent of West Indians independently approached the employers themselves without help from friends, local exchanges etc., whereas only 20% of the Pakistanis and Indians got jobs this way.

Pakistanis and Sikhs are over represented in the textile industry both as skilled and semi-skilled—as weavers, spinners and menders while West Indian males supply the great bulk of labour in heavy engineering, dye works, foundries, pipe works and machine shops.

Blacks are under represented in insurance, banking and finance, the distributive trade, scientific employment and in professions such as teaching (though excluding nursing where West Indians are again over represented). To what extent this under representation is a result of discrimination or unsuitable, inadequate or over adequate qualifications, becomes clear in the interviews.

Nasim Hasnie, President of the Huddersfield Pakistani Association, who worked in textile mills before gaining a degree at the local Polytechnic where he is now a research assistant, is adamant that discrimination is widespread and pervasive in employment and manifests itself in recruitment, training and promotion.

> *Many of the firms in Huddersfield practice discrimination no matter what they like to make us believe. Employers take advantage of the difficulties of blacks and take advantage of them and use them as cheap labour.*
>
> *The sort of jobs blacks usually get have few if any promotion prospects. Blacks at manual worker level gain authority only over other blacks. The reason is a fear of resistance of white workers to taking orders from black supervisors.*
>
> *One of the biggest problems is the educational inadequacies or over ambitiousness among some of the less able school leavers. They expect to fulfil jobs for which they do not have the necessary qualifications and sometimes their qualifications are too great for the jobs offered them.*
>
> *But worst of all is the advantage that some white foremen take with black workers—especially with Asians who can't speak English and believe that the demands made on them are normal practice in Huddersfield factories.*

Furthermore he claimed that Asian workers have to buy jobs with cash bribes at some factories. This 'Backsheesh' bribery system has led to gross exploitation which has meant, among other things, cash payments for the jobs received.

The Association has a list of eight firms in the Huddersfield area where 'backsheesh' is an accepted practice. Hasnie again:

It is difficult to deal with because workers are frightened of losing their jobs if they complain. Asian workers do not know their rights and some think it is normal practice to pay for getting a job, as it was on the Indian sub-continent.

The exposure of the backsheesh bribery system last year by the Huddersfield Pakistan Association brought about a peculiar response from certain concerned local personalities.

Clr John D. Lewis, who was an executive member of the Huddersfield CRC until last April, responded by attacking the exposure in the Press by the Huddersfield Pakistani Association: 'This sort of statement to the press,' he said, 'can only harm community relations.'

And Mr Bert Whitley, director and secretary of Huddersfield and Spen Valley Chamber of Commerce, added that:

I have personally appeared at a House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations in Huddersfield. This is probably the one area in the country where there is no bother with race relations and we established the fact that all the races in Huddersfield work well together.

A viewpoint contradicted by one of the oldest black residents in Huddersfield, West Indian-born Stanley Innis, chairman of the town's Caribbean Association and a member of the North East Conciliation Committee of the Race Relations Board. Mr Innis who has been in Huddersfield for about 20 years knows what he is talking about. He is one of the most popular shop stewards at David Brown's, the huge engineering firm, which employs a substantial number of black workers.

I know there is still discrimination around here, even though people feel there is not. Many blacks have come to me and complained. Sometimes one feels the complaints are exaggerated, but mostly you know it is the truth. The trouble is that it is very subtle and takes forms that are sometimes difficult to pinpoint easily.

One way of overcoming discrimination in the employment field, according to Stan Innis is to involve blacks in Trade Unions:

As an active trade unionist I know that the unions can play an important role in combating discrimination. They are sometimes slow and do not realise the extent of the problem. By joining Trade Unions and actively participating in them black workers can push the Unions along the right path. The onus lies a lot on us, since we cannot wait for others to help us along continually.

There is no doubt that the majority of black workers believe that they do not stand the same chance (eight out of ten) of getting a job as a white worker who has the same qualifications, and many believe that it is because they are black.

- *Of course it is because of my colour. Black is not always a good colour to have when you apply for a job.—unemployed seamstress from Fartown.*
- *When I first came here firms were afraid to give blacks jobs—they were afraid of us, of our colour.—Mr Ahmed Abid, shopkeeper in Bradford Road.*
- *I knew they had a vacancy. My friend told me. When I got there they told me the job had already been taken. But I saw a white bloke going in for an interview and when he came out he was smiling—he told his mate he'd got the job.—Pakistani spinner.*

But what worries elderly blacks more in Huddersfield is not only discriminatory practice in the employment field as far as it affects them, but the consequences of such practices on their youngsters.

'Discrimination in employment has destroyed the self confidence of our young people and consequently led them into trouble,' Stanley Innis emphasised.

And Janet, a 22-year-old student at the Huddersfield Technical College stressed that young West Indians felt they could do better jobs if they got the opportunity:

But they only get second or third class jobs. In Huddersfield they all seem to end up working in the mill, even if you get 'O' levels.
What is the use daily leaving home early looking for a job, knowing full well that you won't get a decent one. It is easier to stay at home.

Over the past 15-20 years large numbers of black children have come to Huddersfield to join their parents. While it is true that the majority of black children now in schools in the area are those born in this country (second generation as they are euphemistically called), those who have just left school and are in their last years at school, were usually born overseas. Many came to Huddersfield late in their school careers, some, like the Pakistani children, with little or no knowledge of English (at least one of their parents may well not have known any English as well), or West Indian children with a knowledge of English but not the kind of English spoken and understood in Britain.

Inquiries in Huddersfield confirm a growing number of unemployed black youngsters. Figures range between 80 and 100 youngsters who have no work at all and of these just over half have no interest in work. Given the low unemployment in the area, this figure is quite large. When those who had no interest in work at all were asked the reasons for their attitude, over 95% replied that they felt their chances of a good job were very limited because of their colour. This information they had gained either through direct experience or through friends. Many believed prior to their search for work that they would not get any decent job at all, and in many instances, this prejudiced their attitudes before they started to look.

'If we were given encouragement earlier, advised properly on job opportunities and made to feel that we had something to contribute to society, I am sure we would not feel so despondent and uninterested,' a young unmarried West Indian mother said.

Many of the youngsters interviewed have lost their drive and ambition. A Jamaican school leaver voiced the viewpoint of other youngsters interviewed when he blamed the increasing failure rate in school.

> *We are judged by our performance at school. If this suggests a not so good pass, employers are reluctant to consider one for skilled jobs.*

One of the few Sikh teachers in Huddersfield observed:

> *The expectations of our second generation youngsters are the same usually as the expectations and aspirations of the white youths, because they will have had the same sort of education and expect to be treated equally. It is of course therefore true that such youngsters when they leave school often feel that they have not obtained good jobs. They apply for apprenticeship and wish for the same jobs as the local white boys.*

The following table gives an idea of the high percentage among all black youth who said it was difficult to get a job in the area:

Employment problems among black youth

Question	*West Indian* %	*Pakistani* %	*Sikh* %
Was it difficult to get a job in the area?	Yes 70%	Yes 70%	Yes 70%
Are you happy with your work conditions?	Yes 50%	Yes 65%	Yes 68%
Have you been unemployed before?	Yes 55%	No 60%	No 65%

From other answers it is interesting to note that those youngsters who were nurses, typists or shorthand typists did not have much difficulty in getting work, whereas those working as cost accountants, engineers, receptionists, chemical workers answered that it was difficult to get work in the area because of their colour.

The problem has become so acute among black youngsters that Huddersfield blacks are, according to Stanley Innis, 'in that state of mind where we could have demonstrations if all other methods of communication fail'.

This is a new development and perhaps a pointer to the rising and legitimate expectations of blacks.

Education opportunities

But this can be realised only if and when the local authorities overhaul one of the areas which provides this army of apparently unambitious, disillusioned and ill-educated black youngsters who in a few years time will provide Huddersfield with a black helot class. For unless the rising black generation leave school decently educated and are able to get jobs proportionate to their abilities, they will increasingly be convinced, as the numerous interviews in Huddersfield show, that they live in an environment that is both hostile and prejudiced.

If this battle is not won in the schools and other centres of education, there is a serious risk of Huddersfield producing a substantial army of angry, disillusioned and alienated black youngsters who feel themselves culturally rootless and who have no sense whatsoever of obligation to society.

Huddersfield can no longer boast, as the former head of its Education Department and now the Deputy Director of Education for Kirklees did a few years ago, that it was streets ahead in multi-racial education and had entirely tackled the problems emerging from a multi-racial community.

While it is true that a lot has been done in the field of teaching Asian children English, there is no doubt that the present educational system is basically outdated and is inadequate for the multi-racial complexion Huddersfield society has taken on over the past 20 years.

There are approximately 3,800 school going black children in Huddersfield (2,100 West Indian children and 1,700 Asian children) which is about 15.9% of a total school population of 24,300.

In 1957 the first 'black' immigrants from commonwealth countries arrived and settled in the area immediately to the west of the town centre known as Spring Grove.

In October 1958 the first class for teaching English as second language to non-English speaking children was started at Spring Grove school.

In 1961 as the black school population grew it was decided that all children of non-English speaking parents should attend Spring Grove school where 'special English' units were established. A Reception Centre[1] was set up at an annexe of the school to which all non-English speaking children aged 5-15 years went on arrival. The centre enabled such children to overcome their initial culture shock while acquainting them with the new school system. Asian children particularly gained from these English language classes, whereas West Indian children with similar language problems on the other hand were placed in ordinary classes.

'Black children, especially West Indian ones, who came into this country, came into a bewildering and alien society. English ways of living are different,' a teacher at Deighton Secondary School—one of the schools with a high

proportion of black pupils (20%)—said. Continuing, he emphasised:

> *The majority of children come from a rural life and find themselves overnight in a highly sophisticated urban society with all its stresses and strains. This leads to what we teachers call cultural shock.*
> *Our educational system causes the child a lot of anxiety. Schools are posher and the child is not used to the different accents he finds, although his language is also English. He is afraid to ask for fear of being ridiculed.*

Standard English presents the West Indian child with many problems. Quite often he may not understand what the teacher is saying and the teacher in return may interpret this as lack of intelligence. The teacher may not understand and expect the child to react in a 'normal' way. This in turn can lead to frustration and embarrassment.

- *I came to Huddersfield to join my parents when I was 11 years old. I did not really know them. I was doing quite well in school in Kingston. When I came here everything was so new, no discipline. You could do what you wanted. I thought they were daft. I could not understand what the teachers were saying, or maybe they did not understand me. I got into an argument with the teacher who told me I was stupid.—19-year-old Jamaican book binder.*
- *They [the other pupils] laughed when I answered questions, some said I was speaking gibberish and not English. The teacher did not scold them and kept on asking me questions, as if he wanted to make a fool of me. He kept saying 'What did you say', 'What word is that', or 'Is that French, Jamaican or English you're speaking'. After a time I would not answer his questions any more. Why should I if he wanted to make a fool of me. I hated that school and the teacher.—18-year-old St Lucian-born youth who came to Huddersfield at the age of 13.*

The lack of parental interest in the child's progress is another factor. Trinidadian electrician, James Johnston, sums it up as follows:

> *Black parents have great expectations and make big demands. But they themselves are ignorant and unaware of how they can help, not knowing whom to approach.*

Again it is significant that few West Indian children benefit from the day nursery and nursery school facilities provided by the Kirklees authority, although more Asian children generally do. This is confirmed by an officer of the Schools Immigrant Adviser's Office, who admitted that, 'already significant numbers of children of Asian parents are benefitting from nursery education. It is hoped that, in future, there will be experimental work in systematic training for all children who need it in nursery schools'.

Nursery school provision does not, at present, benefit children of West Indian parents in such numbers (January 1973):

Asian parentage	*89*
West Indian parentage	*22*
All parentage (West Indian, Asian and host)	*295*

The reason why it does not adequately benefit children of West Indian parents is spelled out by some West Indian mothers:

> *The nurseries are only open until midday. I work until 6 pm. Where will my daughter go from 1 pm to 6 pm? It is useless taking them to any of these nurseries.—Mrs Jane Isaacs, a West Indian mother.*

> *The nurseries are only open for those mothers who have half day jobs up to 12 noon or who don't work at all. Where can you get a job until 12 noon.—a Jamaican mother.*

What is needed is adequate all day nurseries which can cater for the working mother. Huddersfield unfortunately has not placed enough emphasis on this kind of facility and has not yet grasped the essential nature of such all day nursery arrangements.

Where then do the rest of the West Indian under-fives go, since only a few West Indian mothers do not work?

The answer lies in the 'child minding' arrangements amongst West Indians, an arrangement which is widespread in Huddersfield as numerous studies and investigations show.

There is no doubt that the extent and character of these arrangements and their effect on West Indian under-fives needs close investigation, but it must be treated as part of a general re-assessment of under-five educational needs.

One of the problems facing black children in Huddersfield is the paucity of the number of black teachers in Huddersfield, especially West Indian teachers. There are a handful of Asian teachers, but no West Indian teachers whatsoever, although Jamaican born Natalie Pinnock, secretary of the Caribbean Association will complete her teacher's training soon and hopes to be the first West Indian teacher.

- *This is one area where we definitely and urgently need more black teachers. It is important as a physical symbol with which black pupils could identify. Black teachers can help eliminate the isolation many black pupils feel in many schools.—Jamaican born Mr Fitz Bonnick.*

- *Unless we encourage blacks to take the education of their children seriously and tackle it in one area which is effective, that of becoming teachers, I can see many more problems arising. Sikh children feel proud that I am about.*

That there is someone who is one of them and really understands them.—Mr Kathuria, one of the few Sikh teachers in Huddersfield.

Black parents are also worried about the poor performance generally of their children in schools, and the growing number of black children who are being suspended from school mainly because of the breakdown of relations between student and teacher.

Some black youngsters manage to get their 'O' levels, but only a few leave school with any decent passes and many drop out.

Of 50 West Indian youngsters over 16 years who were interviewed, 3 had 'O' levels, a few had CSEs and the rest had no paper qualifications whatsoever.

The 150 youngsters (aged 12-17) who were interviewed and who filled in the questionnaire had definite viewpoints about school, and their attitude to school was not encouraging. Few West Indians (three out of ten) thought they had seriously learned anything to help them in the future, although the majority of Asians (six out of ten) thought the opposite. A fair proportion (five out of ten) of West Indians had no ideas as to what they were going to do in the future, whereas Asians (eight out of ten) were more definite about their future. A high proportion of West Indians had job expectations beyond their actual qualifications and again the opposite was generally true of Asian youngsters.

The majority (seven out of ten) of West Indian youth had a negative opinion about school compared to about four out of a hundred Asians. Six out of ten Asian youngsters liked school whereas only three out of ten among West Indian youth approved of school.

- *The careers officer laughed when I said I wanted to take up teaching. He told me that I was better material as a shop receptionist. Of course, I did not want to become a shop receptionist, so when I left school I was confused and really did not know what I wanted to do.—18-year-old unemployed West Indian girl.*
- *I want to become a scientist and earn a lot of money.—17-year-old West Indian boy with no CSEs.*
- *Who wants to sweep an office? Well I went to that job—it was for a clerk. But every day the typist sent me to the shop. I got tired. I refused. Then she wanted me to sweep the office. I told her to go to hell and left. I've had five jobs since I left school and every time they want me to do something else they hired me for. A friend of mine has got a car and lots of money and he hasn't any education. If he can make it, why can't I?—17 year-old West Indian, David.*
- *At the beginning I did not like school because everybody stared at me so strangely. After a time I understood—it was because of my long trousers.*

Now they accept it. I like school now, I think I have learnt a lot.—16-year-old Pakistani girl.

There is no doubt that the present educational system is on the whole not meeting the needs of the black child and if it is not changed and children continue to fail within it, then they will grow up, as they are already doing, to react against the system which has crippled them by making them far from adequate and totally unaware of their rights and responsibilities as young citizens.

What Huddersfield needs is not only more black teachers, particularly West Indian, but a thorough look at the view some white teachers take in regard to the child's language, and at their ignorance of the history, culture and literature of Asia and the Caribbean.

Although special Immigrant Advisers do serve a somewhat limited purpose, what is needed more is an attempt to make black history, culture and literature part of the **normal** curriculum of the education system in the schools in the area, in order that whites too can benefit from such information. No harm can come from appointing West Indian and Asian Careers Officers who could be of tremendous value to young blacks in helping them find and keep jobs that are commensurate with their abilities. They could advise young blacks about their prospects in employment; encourage firms in the area to give opportunities to blacks; help black youngsters to prepare themselves for interviews and raise the present standard of jobs available to the growing number of young black school leavers.

These are just a minima of things black parents in Huddersfield feel should be done in the education field for them to **feel** that attempts are being made seriously to improve matters.

Asian Dilemma

The performance of Asian youngsters in Huddersfield schools, as previous figures show, is better than that of West Indians. This has naturally led many educationists and social workers to believe that all is well among Asian youngsters and there is, therefore, an assumption that these youngsters are making a smooth transition to their new life in Huddersfield. But other problems have been created for the Asian youngster and his family and this is causing alarm among the town's Asian community.

The Asian child is living in two cultures: the culture of his parents and the culture of the host community. For instance he goes to the local school where he speaks English, and he takes his meal in school. On his return home he speaks his own language and eats different food and conflicts are bound to arise.

Arjan Kirpal Singh Aujla, a Sikh teacher at Caulder College of Further Education and Ryburn Secondary School, feels that the attitudes of first

generation parents impinge heavily on the upbringing of the second generation.[2] Children in such families lead a double life. They are living in two worlds. The one that exists at school and the other, the traditional, that they have to revert to at home.

The conflict created by such close-minded attitudes generates tension among families, especially between teenagers and their parents. Some teenagers do seem to have emulated the wrong social and moral attitudes from their British counterparts and this is proving to be a source of agony for their parents.

Parents who cherished the traditional attitudes, he said, expected their children to grow up submissive and obedient. But a great majority of teenagers who had grown up in Britain were not willing to come up to those expectations.

This conflict between teenager and parent, and the double life these youngsters are in many instances forced to live, not only manifests itself in a revolt against parental control over everything they do (although still on a minor scale) but also in skirmishes with authority.

This is a new phenomenon among Asian youngsters in Huddersfield, according to a senior local probation officer who works especially with black youngsters. He sees the background to this problem in the break-up of the black community in the transitional area of Spring Grove where the majority first settled when they came to Huddersfield.

With the redevelopment and smartening up of the area, people, who had settled there and had built a community and stability, were suddenly broken up and transposed to impersonal housing estates.

A close friendship akin to a family had grown up. With the transposition of families and a disregard for all the close relationship that had grown up in the area, the extended family syndrome disappeared. Although the process repeats itself, people have become much more wary and do not extend their friendship so quickly in case they are again moved and have to go through the same disappointments.

Over the past year, of the black youngsters who have come to the notice of this senior probation officer, 70% are Asian. There is no doubt, according to him, that truancy is increasing among those youngsters, offences involving dishonesty—stealing money, petty fraud, deception involving social security payments—are the main ones, although violence is also increasing.

This is on an individual basis—the gang syndrome is absent among Asian youth in Huddersfield.

The mother's influence is very little, she is many times a shadowy figure. The father is the dominant person in the family. When an Asian boy gets into trouble the father decides usually to do one of these things:

- *to beat the child—and as a result he sometimes gets himself into trouble because of the extent of the beating*

- *If he is a Moslem to take a fairly fatalistic attitude like, 'Allah has ordained that I should be punished with a bad boy',*
- *to send the youngster back to Asia to his uncle or other relatives, 'to learn better ways'.*

West Indian Homelessness

West Indian youngsters are already fully immersed in that process of alienation, frustration and the conflict with parents, which Asian youngsters in Huddersfield are now just beginning to experience.

At present there are over 90 young West Indians who have left the parental home and who are living in difficult circumstances in Huddersfield. A majority live for short periods with friends changing places from time to time, others club together and are living in poor conditions, and a handful are sleeping rough. All of them are at risk and in need of some support.

About 60% of these homeless youth (in so far as they have left the parental home and are living in difficult circumstances and are in need of support), are girls. Many of them become pregnant and get accommodation from the Corporation, like Jane, a seventeen year-old:

> *I lived with my aunt before I came to Huddersfield. My dad came first and my mother and I followed later. I did not like school and as soon as I left school I left home. The reason being the trouble I had with my mother. She was so strict and even wanted me to be indoors at 9 pm. She also did not want me to have any boy friends. I had this baby—I went to social security and they said they could not give me any money because I was too young. So I went to the Youth Employment and they sent me to Social Services. They got me into a mother and baby home within two days, after the birth they got me another place. I now got this place from the Corporation and my money comes from social security.*

Other homeless girls turn to prostitution. Some of these girls are from other places, like Leeds, from which they have 'fled'.

When asked why they left home, the black youngsters interviewed gave the following reasons:

In constant conflict with both parents—6 out of 10, very unhappy at home, conflict with brothers and sisters—5 out of 10, in conflict with mother—too strict—7 out of 10 and parents unreasonable—6 out of 10.

- *I left home because I can't go out as I want. My dad says he don't think it's right for a girl coming in at 12 midnight. I have had 7 jobs since I left school.—Joyce, 17 years.*
- *My mother always tells me how she was brought up. Once she hit me in the face. I hit her back. After that I had to leave home. My mother said I had to*

apologise first before she would have me back. Well I am not going to apologise.—Wendy, 18-year-old from Sheepridge.

Twenty one year-old Myron Liburd from St Kitts has been involved with homeless youth in Huddersfield. He has been helping many of them and trying to pinpoint their problems. He was homeless himself and left home because 'like other youngsters I got into conflict with parents'.

I went to Fartown school and then to Deighton, but was expelled for fighting with other lads. They sent me to Derbyshire but I was expelled. I took a job as a joiner but was sacked. I then got another job in a textile mill as an assistant to an overlooker and got £9 a week. They send me on errands but I refused and was sacked. My mother got at me for being without work. I went to a party and stayed away for the night. When I returned my mother told me to pack. A friend put me up for a night or two. I was homeless and had to go around begging for a bed for the night. I got another job and am working at night now. I have a small room.

What I would like to see is a hostel for black youth. It is an absolute necessity. Somewhere they can go and relate to. Otherwise I see many of them getting into trouble with the police.

There are few facilities for black youth in Huddersfield. Most of the youngsters find their way to Venn Street West Indian Club and the Black Star Social Club in Chapel Hill, both in the town centre. Generally speaking, they play games, dance and chat among themselves. The management of Venn Street claim that they have tried to stimulate these youngsters, but that they were unable to do this and look after their own commercial interests at the same time.

The attitude of the local authority has always been that there was no need for any civic youth clubs which would cater essentially for black youth. They regard that as 'Discriminating', but do not take the same attitude towards the existing white clubs in the area.

Although there are about 11 Civic youth clubs in Huddersfield, black youth rarely attend, if at all. There are no black youth leaders. The policy of these youth clubs is positively disconcerting according to the black youngsters in the area.

- *I once went to a youth club. It was 99% white. I did not mind but the white members did. They made me uncomfortable and many made racialist remarks. I never went back again.—18-year-old black youth.*

- *The youth leader did not make my friends and I welcome. As if he was only tolerating our presence. Actually asked us why we wanted to belong to that particular club.—17-year-old girl.*

Thanks to the activity of Wendel Chapman, a youth club catering especially for black (both West Indian and Asian) youth has now been set up at the Birkby Civic Youth Club. The need for such a club is demonstrated by the large number of black youth who attend there every Friday night (about 200) the one evening the club is allowed to function.

'At last', said one young club member, 'we have a club where we can come to without feeling strangers. The other clubs are predominantly white and blacks feel uncomfortable and in many instances are made to feel uncomfortable.'

There is no doubt that the attitude of the local authority needs to change in this respect and that it must stop hiding behind the excuse that they treat everybody the same and are not going to discriminate. The presence of all white clubs in the area is understandable. Nobody can force youngsters to join any club, but opportunities should also be provided for black youngsters to associate by themselves if they so wish,—a process the local authority is not happy with.

Youth and Police

Usually in a situation where there are few facilities for youngsters, where relations between teenagers and parents are not so good and where there are generally poor social conditions, relations between black youth and the police are not the best.

Huddersfield, however, does not seem to have developed the near explosive relations between its black youth and its local police as elsewhere. This does not mean that relations are harmonious, only that they are not 'explosive' nor have they reached a 'breakdown point'.

The seriousness of the situation was pinpointed by Wendell Chapman in March 1974 when he submitted a report to the local CRC and Huddersfield Social Services Department. Chapman had three months earlier been appointed as a social worker by the Social Services Department and the Huddersfield Community Relations Council and was made responsible especially for 'West Indian affairs'.

Last year also seems to have reached the high water mark in complaints against the police. One organisation through which these complaints were channelled was The African Descendants' Brotherhood Union, of Chapel Hill (in the centre of the town where they run their own successful Black Star Social Club). It filed about 15 complaints against the local police alleging corruption, brutality and harassment. Although the police denied the allegations, genuine attempts were then made by the police to better relations between themselves and the African Descendants' Brotherhood Union. Complaints have now been reduced to about one or two, and the local Community Liaison Officer for Huddersfield Division of the West Yorkshire Constabulary, Inspector John Machell, whose job inter alia is to liaise with the black community, has radically changed his opinion about the Brotherhood Union, recognising that

they are a, 'worthwhile black organisation concerned about the welfare of the black community'.

So far had the situation improved that the Inspector in his last report could confidently state that the police should try to increase their knowledge of the background, culture and religions of blacks.

The explosive situation Chapman spoke about a year ago has now been defused and although suspicion of the police is still evident and there are no grounds for complacency, the general attitude of black youngsters has also changed and been borne out in the various interviews with youngsters.

Seventy four per cent thought the police either 'good', 'helpful', 'quite friendly', 'not bad', 'all right' and 'nice', 12 per cent thought them 'a waste of time' and one out of ten thought 'nothing much' of them. When asked whether there had been any change in the police's attitude towards blacks during the past year, 25 per cent thought the police were 'friendlier', 40 per cent that they were 'more helpful' 15 per cent that they were 'worse', 5 per cent that they were 'more brutal' and 10 per cent that they 'discriminated more'.

Black Organisations and Community Relations

When the **Huddersfield Minority Groups' Council**, consisting of the Huddersfield Pakistan Association, the Indian Workers' Association, the Caribbean Association, the Sikh Temple and the Council of Islamic Affairs, was formed in October last year it caused quite a sensation as well as a row in the race and community relations world in the town. A sensation, because here for the first time in the history of the local black community had an organisation representative of the three black communities, West Indian, Indian and Pakistani, actually been formed. A row, because its first public statement in spelling out the reasons for its formation was an attack on the usefulness to blacks of the Huddersfield Community Relations Council, and a claim that the HCRC had completely failed to look after their interests:

> *We have formed a united body which will be responsible for safeguarding and advancing the welfare of minority groups and combating racialism.*
> *The real need for such a body arose due to the complete failure of Huddersfield Community Relations Council to represent the interest of Huddersfield minority groups.*
> *The Huddersfield Community Relations Council with its present attitudes and practices achieves none of its real aims.*
> *Unless the Community Relations Council begins to work effectively it will not be possible for the Huddersfield Minority Groups' Council to give it any support.*

This brought an immediate response from the Chairman of the Community Relations Council, Mrs D.M. Castell, who said she, 'totally disagreed' with the

allegations, although she welcomed the formation of the group:

> *The Community Relations Council thinks it is a good idea for the minority groups to get together. We wish them well with the great difficulties that they have and we shall certainly give them all the assistance we can, as we always have done in the past.*
> *Community Relations is for all the communities in the town. It is not just for one section.*

To which the President of the New group, Mr Mohammed Akram, of the Huddersfield Pakistan Association, replied:

> *If they have always given the minorities assistance in the past as the Chairman of the HCRC alleges, then why are we bitter and disappointed with the Council? Let's say it is true that they gave us assistance, but what kind of assistance? Assistance on their terms, ineffectual and minimal.*
> *Nobody claims that community relations is for just one section in the town. This is a typical liberal and white patronising attitude. Behind this sort of answer liberal whites hide whenever blacks assert themselves.*

This saga neatly sums up the different attitudes of the blacks on the one hand and the HCRC on the other in relation to community and race relations in Huddersfield.

However, the constituent organisations of the Huddersfield Minority Groups' Council and the Huddersfield Community Relations Council are not the only organisations in Huddersfield which concern themselves with race and community relations. At the 1975 AGM of the HCRC, in addition to individual members and representatives of statutory bodies, the HCRC contained representatives from over forty affiliated organisations. They ranged from the Salvation Army, the YMCA and the Huddersfield Polytechnic Union to the Huddersfield and District Branch of the Pre-School Playgroup Association, the Huddersfield Famine Relief Committee and the Huddersfield Young liberals. In addition there are other organisations more closely involved notably the Indian Workers' Association, the Huddersfield Pakistan Association, The Huddersfield Caribbean Association and the African Descendents' Brotherhood Union, who were either critical of the Council or had never belonged to it.

The **Huddersfield Community Relations Council** is the only quasi-statutory body in Huddersfield supported out of public funds which is charged with bettering community relations. It began life in 1966, as a result of voluntary initiative after the Government White Paper 'Immigration from the Commonwealth', when the International Co-operation Year Committee set up in 1965 persuaded the Mayor that the setting up of a liaison committee would provide a means of continuing some of the 'inter-community' activities they had started. In March 1967 the first honorary secretary was appointed Liaison Officer and

the Mayor became the Chairman of the HILC which later became known as the Huddersfield Community Relations Council (HCRC).

The aim of the HCRC is simply to promote harmony between the different communities in Huddersfield.

Up to twelve months ago the HCRC employed the same methods in dealing with race relations since its inception, plodding along and facing no real racial problems. It was generally felt and argued that Huddersfield had no race problem since in the eyes of most local whites it met the pressing need of black housing and education in a reasonable way.

- *As you know Huddersfield is one of the areas which is one of the best in race relations. We have done a tremendous amount for the Immigrant population of this town. I am sure they will agree. People in other parts of Britain have told me how impressed they are with community relations in this town. We have a good housing and education history. They all comment on the friendly and happy attitude of immigrants in Huddersfield. As a local authority we have done a lot and of course will continue to do a lot.—local Councillor who has close links with the HCRC.*

- *There is no different treatment of immigrants by the local authority and to suggest that racialism and discrimination is being practiced is mischievous. We have a good record in race relations.—officer of local authority.*

The majority of black people interviewed in Huddersfield have other ideas:

- *Of course there is racialism in this town. It is rampant, but subtle.—Sikh teacher.*

- *The young whites are all right. It is the older ones who treat us as children at the best and savages at the worst.—young West Indian.*

One of the questions constantly facing local Community Relations Councils is the knife edge balancing act of maintaining the quiet acceptance of the status quo which would satisfy one of its pay-masters, the local authorities, on the one hand, and asserting a strong anti-racialist line which would satisfy the majority of blacks and their supporters on the other. Huddersfield CRC has over the years been able to maintain the quiet acceptance of the status quo and has through its activities during that period made its position as an establishment committee with local authority support very clear, and has avoided becoming involved in protest. That it had adopted this role without open and intense conflict with its black members may be due to the fact that it has been successful, within its own fairly narrowly defined predominantly welfare[3] sphere, and it has carefully selected most of its black participants so as to avoid including 'militants'.

For some time, up until the last 1975 AGM when the decision was reversed, the exclusion of Roy Noel's African Brotherhood Descendants' Union was an apt example of the exclusion of 'militants'. What is significant is the fact that the black establishment Executive Members of the HCRC were the ones, together with some white members, who objected strongly against the inclusion of the ADBU to Council membership.

> *The HCRC is too closely associated with local authority to fight local authority for things the latter is responsible for. It is too establishment in the eyes of blacks.—Ben Malik, Huddersfield Pakistan Association.*

> *There is no doubt that the majority of blacks on the Executive Council were carefully selected and were acceptable to the liberal whites. The few who were not were outnumbered and their voices muted. Their suggestions if accepted were not carried out, and they could not radically influence the direction of the Huddersfield CRC which has remained the same since its inception, although the nature of the 'immigrant problem' has altered tremendously.—Mohamed Akram, President Huddersfield Minority Groups' Council.*

In spite of the HCRC's wish to be considered a body with local authority support and respect, the real support it has actually got from local authority in matters affecting race relations has not been startling at its best and in fact minimal at its worst.

Various proposals put forward by the HCRC, after pressure by blacks, have been met with refusal or dilly dallying by the local authority. For example, the local authority has turned down inter alia proposals for the appointment of a social worker for West Indian girls, and a social worker for Asian women and girls whose needs and problems are great. Whether the actual help and support the local authority gives the HCRC justifies its slavish relationship with local authority, can only be judged by the amount of help forthcoming from local authority in areas that really count in race and community relations.

In short, the HCRC found itself until a year ago in a position where it tried to maintain the status quo as a prerequisite for local authority support. In return the HCRC not only did not get the kind of local authority support it required, but in the process antagonised most of the black community whom it kept out of its decision making body as a consequence of its attitude. It lost out both ways. Although the local CRO has continuously claimed that he has been able to gain access to top local authority decision-makers, there is no doubt that he has not been consulted on decisions affecting blacks, and that he and the Council are not presently in any sense in a position to influence the local authority.

When blacks in the area were questioned about their attitude to the HCRC various replies were forthcoming. When asked what they thought of the HCRC,

seven out of ten blacks replied that they had never heard of the HCRC; two out of ten thought the HCRC was not effective or had not enough powers and one out of ten thought the HCRC was 'useless'. About eight out of ten had never contacted the HCRC about any matter and of those who had over half were not happy with the results.

- *It is ineffective and really has no power. Local authority does not take note of the CRO.—Mr Bonnick from Fartown.*
- *More permanent staff are needed. It needs to widen its horizons and have more direction.—A Sikh teacher.*
- *The CRO must be an immigrant person. The CRO is nice but he just cannot communicate with immigrants. It is sad, but that is so.—Mr Ben Malik of the Huddersfield Pakistan Association.*

One of the most realistic decisions taken by the HCRC was the approach to the local authority for the appointment of a West Indian worker whose sole responsibility would be to work with West Indian youth in the area and advise the HCRC. The local authority agreed but stipulated that the worker should be responsible both to the local social services department and the HCRC. The agreement did not indicate any change in the passive attitude of the local authority towards blacks, but was rather an urgent recognition of the disquiet felt among all sectors of the community regarding the growing frustration among the black youth in the area.

Thirty one year old Wendell Chapman[4] from Leeds was appointed. Chapman, born in the Leeward Islands (Nevis Island) came to Britain 10 years ago. A former naval operator in the Royal Navy where he rose to the rank of NCO, he is also a qualified youth leader.

Being an outsider, he was not 'tainted' as far as other blacks were concerned, as other black community relations participants were. Nor on the other hand was he, as far as the local white liberals were concerned, a known black 'militant'. Within three months of his appointment in February 1974, he produced a report which concluded that, 'West Indian parents, teenagers, teachers and other responsible members of the community, share my view that every effort should be made to prepare people for life in a multi-racial society, as opposed to a society where the indigenous population will ignore and disregard immigrants, thus causing a multi-racial society to remain really a racial one'.

Chapman was 'taken over' completely by the Social Services Department and moved from the HCRC offices to the Social Services offices in Ramsden House. This move caused some disquiet among the black community who felt he was being silenced. What in fact happened was that Chapman was able to say much more in the Social Services Department without the constraints of the HCRC. The establishment within the HCRC had cause for similar disquiet at the move,

but for different reasons. They bemoaned his removal from their offices as it meant that their control over Chapman had been lost.

> *The trouble is that Wendell says things in Social Services which we in the HCRC would have been able to prevent. He is stirring up an unnecessary hornets nest and I think he is a nuisance.—executive member of HCRC.*

The black community, on the other hand, appreciated Chapman's role. Stanley Innis, the Chairman of the Huddersfield Caribbean Association summed up their appreciation:

> *We want to thank the authorities for employing Mr Chapman. He has provided the initial push, but now it is our job to take advantage of our new found strength in the community. We, however, would like to see a good many more black social workers because there is a lot more to be done.*

Although the **Caribbean Association** (then known as the West Indian Steering Committee) had already been formed when Chapman took up his post in the area, there is no doubt that his activities gave the Committee the necessary fillip it needed to go into action and involve itself in more grass roots activities than it had done hitherto.

The Steering Committee's formation in 1974 had been welcomed by the HCRC although it was suspected by a number of blacks in the area that the Steering Committee had deliberately been created by the race relations industry to keep control over the growing awareness of West Indians. Although it would be difficult to prove this allegation, the prominent role an important and well known white Executive member of the HCRC played in the Steering Committee's formation did not go unannounced.

In reply to an article in '**The Huddersfield Examiner**'[5], the Chairman of the HCRC, Mrs Denzella Castell, JP commented:

> *I was also interested in your report on the West Indian Steering Committee. HCRC have been greatly exercised about these matters for several years, and were also concerned that there was no West Indian movement, representative of their community as there was for Sikhs, Pakistanis, Indian Workers etc. Because of this, Lady Kagan became the prime mover behind the formation of the West Indian Steering Committee. She is in fact the treasurer, and meetings are held at her home. Both the West Indian community and HCRC owe her a great debt of gratitude for the amount of work she has put in on their joint behalf. What does disturb me seriously is your report that the Minority Groups are not prepared to support the democratically elected representatives of HCRC. If they disapprove of representatives in community relations, then they can replace them in the constitutional manner. After all, the AGM is only three months away.*

A West Indian youth had a different comment to make:

> *How come these people are all of a sudden so interested in helping us, seeing they were not interested in us before? We don't say don't help, but why must they always take the driver's seat in everything that concerns us. Can't they leave us alone and let us do things on our own, even if we do them wrong.*

Nevertheless, inspite of the suspicion and criticism, the West Indian Steering Committee took a different line than many people in the HCRC expected. It took a more radical line and confronted the local authority on issues like ESN schools and hostels for the black homeless among other issues that the HCRC had not considered urgent enough to tackle. It worked together with the Pakistan and Indian Workers' Associations and jointly formed the Huddersfield Minority Groups' Council.

Both the **Huddersfield Pakistan Association** and the **Indian Workers' Association** are older bodies, formed by Pakistanis and Indians. They have support among the Asian community and have been involved in numerous local campaigns and activities.

Unlike the West Indian community, the Asian community in Huddersfield has been more united and as a result it has been able to speak with a much stronger voice.

One continuing problem for Pakistanis alone is that of religion, and the difficulty experienced in building centralised Mosques in major black centres. Huddersfield is no exception and the Huddersfield Pakistan Association has been at the centre of the Mosque problem.

Moslems in the predominantly Asian area of Thornton Lodge used a house there as a Mosque where they met for prayers and for religious instruction. A full-time Imam voluntarily taught 80 children between the ages of 5 and 14. But because of protests from white neighbours who claimed that they heard horrible wailing coming from the house, the mosque was closed by the local authorities in July 1973. They argued that the Mosque committee had failed to apply for planning permission to use the house concerned. Intense bitterness was caused by the closure, and although the Moslem community now uses the Lockwood Community Centre for prayers on Friday, they have been forced to continue the religious teaching of the children in cramped and unsuitable premises without any help from the local education authorities. Efforts are being made by them to buy a plot of land to build a Mosque, and the latest land deal is coming off the ground because planning permission has been obtained.

However there is a growing feeling in the Pakistani community that the local authority is deliberately sabotaging their efforts and is trying to make it difficult for them to continue with their religion and religious education for their children. The Huddersfield Council of Islamic Affairs is trying to dispel such

feelings as well as negotiating with the authority to acquire a site for the Central Mosque at Clare Hill.

This distrust has however spilled over on to the Community Relations Council which has come in for criticism.

Speaking to the Huddersfield Central Adult School about 'accepting the New British', the then General Secretary of the Huddersfield Pakistani Association said the town's Community Relations officials had not helped local Moslems in their fight to keep the Mosque at Thornton Lodge.

> *This was a classic case that should have involved community relations. I showed officials the Mosque and explained the complaints but they were apparently unable to attend the public inquiry that was held where their opinions could have been a help.*

The CRO in his 1974 Annual Report admitted that with the Thornton Lodge Mosque case he, 'felt impotent to help in what was a very difficult situation'. But it would be unfair to say that he did not do anything further:

> *However, as soon as this matter had been dealt with through the courts, I then felt in a position to give the local community in Thornton Lodge every bit of help that I could possibly muster and we were successful as a temporary expedient, in allowing the local Moslem community to use the Lockwood Community Centre for prayers on Friday afternoons. I am now working very hard to find alternative premises in Thornton Lodge for the Moslems to use as a Mosque, not only for prayer, but as a centre wherein religious instruction may be given to their children. The Imam is having great difficulty in visiting individual homes to give this instruction and I have applied for planning permission, so that they may have their children under one roof for the purpose. We are also negotiating with the Springdale Estate for buying or renting land in Thornton Lodge, so that the local community may get permission to build their own Mosque. An Islamic Council for Huddersfield under the chairmanship of Dr Abdul Ali and secretaryship under Bashir Ahmad has been established and we are now making progress in finding a site centrally situated, so that they may build a central Mosque, for the Moslem community as a whole in Huddersfield.*

Further criticism of the HCRC has centred around the conduct of the Executive. Early last year Hasni, a founder member of the HCRC, claimed that it had lost touch with the people they were supposed to help:

The CRC in Huddersfield is ineffective. Being a member of the Council for a community leader is meaningless because of the executive which has too much power.
There should be more meetings, better communication and less secrecy about

executive meetings.
The Community relations officer gives a report about his activities but nothing is made available about what happens when the Executive meets.
Until things change they will not get the support of the educated and competent people of all races.

Mr Hasni was later in that year elected to the Executive of the Council where he continued his criticism. At the last AGM (1975) he was elected a Vice Chairman of the HCRC and it will be interesting to know whether he will act on his criticisms to bring about the changes he desires.

Another body which has been critical of the HCRC is the **African Descendants' Brotherhood Union**. ADBU was formed in 1971 as the Black People's Liberation Party. According to Roy Noel, the general secretary, the aims are, 'to give as much help as we can to black people in general, but with an emphasis on youth. We try to help black parents see there is a need for a change in their attitudes towards their children. We also aim to preserve and observe our culture.'

ADBU has been much more fortunate than the Huddersfield Caribbean Association in that it has its own club—The Black Star—which is in the town centre in Chapel Hill and which is also the headquarters of ADBU.

The club has become a popular place for young people and there is no doubt that ADBU and Roy Noel are both highly regarded among black youngsters. ADBU became a centre to which black youngsters brought their complaints about the police and authority generally and it was Roy Noel who then sent these complaints to the police for action as has been described earlier.

ADBU has few contacts with establishment bodies. When they tried to join the HCRC in 1974 there was a lot of opposition from Executive members, many of whom felt that ADBU was too radical.

The Club also runs a Sunday disco for youngsters and has cricket and football league teams.

- *I came to this club because it is the only one which really makes me proud to be black. All those other places they not serious.—19-year-old Steven.*

Among the older blacks there is a suspicion about ADBU. Many feel they are misleading the black youth through their political militancy and many point to the kind of youngsters who frequent the Club. There is little doubt that the kind of youngsters frequenting the Club do not look like angels and do not act like saints. They are rough, disillusioned, angry youth, who have lost confidence in the system and their elders and have found a sympathetic ear in the ADBU. Roy Noel describes this:

> *You can only help people who need help and you have to accept them among you. These youngsters are rough, but they are not bad. They are*

black and have been messed up by this society. We are not ashamed of them as some other blacks are. They are true sons of the soul. Perhaps that is why some people criticise me. This association tackles the roughest problems.

There has also been friction between the Huddersfield Caribbean Association and ADBU. But lately a genuine attempt has been made to settle differences. At the last (1975) AGM of the HCRC, the Huddersfield Caribbean Association supported ADBU's application for membership of the Council and ADBU has since been admitted.

ADBU sees its membership of the HCRC, according to Noel, as an 'experiment'. 'We will speak out strongly against any attempts to mislead the black community and misrepresent its interests. We will not sell out and if it comes to the crunch where principles are involved, we will rather withdraw'.

ADBU is not a member of the Huddersfield Minority Groups' Council, but according to Roy Noel, 'we are actively and sympathetically considering the matter'.

The formation of the Minority Groups' Council diffused differences between the Asians and West Indian communities in Huddersfield. Early last year there was a threat that the Pakistan Community, organised by the Huddersfield Pakistan Association, might march on the town hall, unless the local Council provided a community liaison officer. The Pakistani community claimed that the West Indian community in the town already had such an officer—Mr Wendell Chapman—who was always available to help in solving problems.

We feel we are entitled to such a man, appointed by the council who would be able to help Asians in such things as tax matters and translations. We consider that the West Indians are getting preferential treatment. There is a community relations officer but we consider that the local authority is using him as a buffer. He is in fact a bulldog who cannot bite.

One of the first issues the Minority Groups' Council took up was a dispute between Mrs Mohina Dhaliwal, Assistant CRO, and the CRO. It arose after Mrs Dhaliwal returned to work in mid-November after a month's sick leave which was properly documented by doctor's letters. The allegation was that the CRO had asked her for her resignation. When she turned to the chairman, Mrs D.M. Castell, she too asked for her resignation.

The matter became public knowledge through the Huddersfield Minority Groups' Council. They sent a strongly-worded letter dated 25.11.74 to Mrs Castell and copies to all executive members and to the Commission in London. The gist of the letter was to back Mrs Dhaliwal against her detractors, particularly the CRO, with whose work they expressed complete dissatisfaction.

The letter resulted in an emergency meeting of the HCRC Executive on 29 November. This meeting discussed the Minority Groups' letter and appointed a

four-man subcommittee to investigate and report back to the normal executive meeting on 9 December.

That sub-committee was chaired by Mrs Cynthia Geddes, and included Lady Kagan, Nasim Hasnie and K.S. Dhillon.

The sub-committee reported to the December 9 executive meeting that they were unable to make any conclusive recommendations without interviewing 'other parties'. They had, apparently, only talked formally to Mrs Dhaliwal. Their report reads as follows:

'It was found that Mrs Dhaliwal's answers to our questions were in divergence with some of the statements made by P. Andrewes.

We have been told that:

1. *No job specification was given to her on appointment as ACRO. It was suggested that she had to define her own work.*
2. *She was not given jobs which were appropriate for an ACRO.*
3. *She was not shown any correspondence.*
4. *She was not introduced to relevant people/clients.*
5. *She was not allowed to sign her own correspondence.*
6. *No case work was given to her for the first two months.*
   Later when she was given case work the CRO claimed the credit for some of the cases she dealt with.
7. *She objected very much to the way the CRO used to talk to her in the presence of other staff.'*

In May, 1974, she talked to five members of the executive, i.e. Mrs Wilson, Mrs Castell, Mr Medley, Dr Iqbal and Mr Kathuria with regard to suitability of jobs given to her.

After that she was given some case work.

Due to ill health she was off work for a period of four to six weeks after which she resumed working.

On 7th November 1974 Mrs Dhaliwal was asked to resign by Mrs Castell. Later, Mr Andrewes, on another occasion, called her in his office (no other person being present) and asked her to resign, and said that if she refused he would have her sacked . . .

The sub-committee takes the view that:

- *A job specification should have been given to her on her interview for this job but certainly on her appointment and on specific request by her for it.*
- *Neither the chairman nor the CRO should have asked Mrs Dhaliwal to resign without first bringing this matter to the notice of the executive meeting.*

- *Without interviewing other parties involved in the statements by the CRO and the ACRO, the sub-committee are unable to come forward with any conclusive recommendations.'*

Because the findings of the sub-committee were inconclusive, the committee appointed Dr Iqbal (then Vice-Chairman) and West Indian Phillip Gibson to mediate between the CRO and ACRO.

As Christmas approached, other moves were made before Iqbal and Gibson could talk to both parties. In fact, it was suggested that Peter Andrewes had refused or was avoiding being interviewed. At any event, Mrs Castell made an approach and invited Mrs Dhaliwal and Peter Andrewes to her house for a clear-the-air meeting.

Mrs Dhaliwal accepted the invitation that was made by phone but later decided against it. Even so, Mrs Castell managed another meeting on January 14 to which they both came, and the result, a brief statement announcing resolution of the dispute, was signed by the CRO, ACRO and Mrs Castell. A copy of it was sent to the local newspaper, The Huddersfield Examiner. They also agreed to give her a job description, something she had never had since becoming ACRO in April 1974, nine months before.

This arrived about a fortnight later but Mrs Dhaliwal was not happy with it since the description, she felt, reduced her role to that of a secretary. Her union, ASTMS, advised her in writing not to accept it.

Then on February 11, Peter Andrewes wrote to her in reply to her application for maternity leave:

> *'It was decided by the executive to allow you leave from February 21 until April 14 when your twelve months probationary period will be completed. Meanwhile a sub-committee has been formed to assess your work since you were appointed so that they can decide whether you will be confirmed in your appointment on April 14.*
>
> *'In the event of you being confirmed in your appointment as ACRO the executive will allow you the remainder of your leave until the end of June.'*

This upset Mrs Dhaliwal for two reasons. If she was not confirmed in her appointment she would be unable to claim local authority paid-leave for absence and full maternity benefits. They only pay the benefits if the woman concerned returns to work for at least three months. More importantly to her, she felt this was another attempt to sack her, this time while she was away having a baby.

Another sub-committee was formed to assess her work, its members being Nasim Hasnie, K.S. Dhillon, Cynthia Geddes, Lady Kagan and vice chairman L. Medley. Lady Kagan didn't attend the assessment meeting in March which involved the other four discussing among themselves. A typed report was never

prepared but Mrs Geddes hand-wrote a report which she passed round to the other three. She and Mr Medley signed it but Hasnie and Dhillon refused. In March, this report was submitted to the executive meeting with dissension from Hasnie and Dhillon and a decision postponed until after the AGM.

What this whole incident signifies is the suspicion that the blacks through the Huddersfield Minority Groups' Council have of the CRO and the Chairman of the HCRC.

One would have expected the Chairman and the CRO to have consulted the Executive, some of whom (both black and white) were critical of the ACRO's ability to do the job, before they took such a serious step of asking her to resign. They would certainly have avoided this farcical debacle which made the HCRC a laughing stock in Huddersfield and only aggravated black feelings against both the CRO and the Chairman.

The CRO was placed in an invidious position, as he claims he was instructed by his Chairman to ask his ACRO to resign. The Chairman has denied that she told him to take this action, so quite naturally the CRO feels that he was let down by his Chairman, and has been forced to 'carry the can' alone.

Criticism

Criticism of the Chairman ranges from allegations of insensitivity of black feeling, paternalism towards blacks and highhandedness when dealing with blacks; and of the CRO of not really understanding blacks, of being too preoccupied with irrelevant matters in the office and of not seriously consulting with blacks when decisions affecting them are made.

- *The CRO does not understand the black community. He tries his best but is really out of his depth when it involves us. I know he is a hard worker, but that is not enough.—black ex-member of HCRC.*

- *The Chairman is too removed from ordinary blacks. She is a highpowered, middle class white who has no conception of what it means to be black. Like other whites she wants to do good for blacks but on her terms. I am not saying she is dishonest. No, I think she is very honest. But then honesty is not what is at stake. It is understanding what race relations is all about.—leading member of Huddersfield Caribbean Association.*

Both the CRO and the Chairman deny these allegations and the CRO especially feels that he is overstretched with very little help.

He summed up his feelings in one of his AGM Reports:

> *It will perhaps be seen from this, that the Community Relations Officer is expected to be all things to all men. Obviously this cannot be and although we do our best, there must be a margin of failure in so wide a field, particularly when the case load has to be borne whilst at the same time the*

ordinary day to day business of carrying on the work of building better community relations. It is a little disconcerting, therefore, to find that when problems which have never even been brought to the attention of the Community Relations Council, fail to be solved, there is a sudden rash of derogatory articles appearing in the press—articles criticising inaction or worse by the Community Relations Council, before any such problems have been mooted or discussed. I think this is what is known as an 'Occupational Hazard' for Community Relations, based on the premise that 'you can't please all of the people all of the time'. Without appearing cynical, I am convinced that there are 'some of the people one can please none of the time'.

An example of his difficulties can be seen when it is recalled that Mr Andrewes' predecessor made the mistake of speaking publicly against the Powellite Councillor, and prospective parliamentary Tory candidate, Holt, who made a well-advertised remark about overcrowding at his Asian neighbours' home at a Tory conference at Brighton. The CRO was made to resign.

Another allegation is the one which has become quite popular with black organisations in Huddersfield. They claim that the CRO and the Chairman wanted to control the activity and relationships of their organisations, especially as far as these concerned non-Huddersfield organisations.

They point, for instance, to the objections the CRO and the Chairman had when they made approaches to the Community Relations Commission for help with various projects. The CRO and the Chairman were annoyed when the ADBU applied for and got a Commission grant of £250 to buy equipment. They were similarly annoyed when the Huddersfield Caribbean Association got a Commission grant and were more annoyed when the Association applied for Urban Aid.

The point the Chairman and CRO raise is the propriety of these organisations applying for aid directly to the Commission without first approaching the HCRC for clearance. They feel that by going directly to the Commission and by the CRC usually granting such aid, their position is being undermined. There is a feeling in the Executive that the Commission is not being too helpful and they point to the lack of contact the Commission has had with them.

The CRO has been noted for his robust determination not to take too much notice of the Commission and has been critical of the Commission especially during the first four years of his office. This was a reflection of the views of the HCRC, who considered that at that time, the Commission was too remote from the work that was being done in Huddersfield as well as its attitude to the HCRC's applications for grants, particularly in the case of the Home Tutor scheme which they felt were often ignored.

The 1975 AGM of the HCRC brought new faces into the Executive. The minority group seriously took the advice of the outgoing Chairman, Mrs Castell

and completely revamped the HCRC Executive by replacing many of the old faces. The three main offices went to blacks and five members of the eight man executive are black. The Chairman did not stand again and she was not nominated for the Executive.

CHANGES IN THE HCRC EXECUTIVE, MAY 1975

	Old Executive 1974	Representing	New Executive 1975	Representing
Chairman	Mrs D.M. Castell	Hudds. Famine Relief Commee	Dr. Iqbal*	Indiv. member
V. Chairman	Dr. Iqbal*	Indiv. member	Mr. Hasni*	Pakistan Assoc.
V. Chairman	Mr Meddeley	Lockwood Comm. Centre	Mr. Gibson*	Indiv. member
	Mr Gibson*	Indiv. member	Bashir Ahmed*	Huddersfield Council of Islamic Affairs
	Mr Dillon*	Indian Wkrs. Association	Mr Innis*	Caribbean Assoc.
	Con. Lewis	Indiv. member	Con. Riordan	Kirklees Metrop. Authority
	Lady Kagan	Indiv. member	Lady Kagan	Indiv. member
	Mr Kathuria*	Hudds. Sikh Tem.	Mr Meddeley	Lock Community Centre
	Mr Hasni*	Pakistan Assoc.	Mr Chatrick*	Indian Workers Centre
	Mrs Geddes*	Indiv. members	Yunnus Chowdrey	Indiv. member
	Fr Chamberlain	Indiv. member	Mr Kathuria*	Hudds. Sikh Temple Committee
			Mr. J. Zurawinski (co-opted)	Polish Community

*Asterisks indicate that they are black

The three officers, Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen, are all black.

Five out of nine Executive members are black, increasing the number of black members (including officers) from six to eight.

Press attitudes

Perhaps one of the things which has considerably annoyed the former officers of the HCRC and the CRO has been the coverage of race and community relations in the local press, especially the local paper, **The Huddersfield Examiner**.

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As early as January, 1974, The Examiner came in for attack from the then acting Chairman of the Kirklees Metropolitan District Co-ordinating Community Relations Council, Mr S.M. Appavoo, who was a former Chairman of the HCRC.

Commenting on a letter that Mr Hasni, who was then a council member of the HCRC and secretary of Huddersfield Pakistan Association, wrote to the paper complaining about the ineffectiveness and unnecessary power of the Executive of the HCRC, Mr Appavoo chided the press in a letter[6] for giving prominence to reports by 'certain people'.

> *Perhaps Mr Hasni's reported comments on community relations in Huddersfield might not have arisen if the Press had not in the past given prominence to unqualified people as 'spokesmen' for certain communities, either under the Community Relations Council banner or by sheer association.*

Undoubtedly there is some truth in Mr Appavoo's criticism. It is a criticism that has quite rightly been levelled at the press reports especially in so far as it concerns race relations. But to be factual in the case of Huddersfield, it is not the press—not The Examiner—which has built up black leaders, black 'spokesmen' for 'immigrants', but the race relations industry in Huddersfield which has put forward certain blacks, including Mr Appavoo, as leaders of the black community.

Relations between the HCRC and the press is anything but amicable and this is not because of the press, but essentially because of the near neurotic attitude the race and community relations establishment assumes towards the press. Any criticism, no matter how fair and constructive, is looked upon as an attack and the only news which satisfies is the salutory good news.

- *It is always attacking community relations. Why can't it be more constructive.—HCRC former executive member.*
- *Why can't they give our side of things. They are biased.—West Indian member of HCRC Executive.*

The community and race relations establishment in Huddersfield has not understood the function and potential of the local press, and has not attempted to make use of the goodwill which there certainly is in the local press—especially **The Huddersfield Examiner.**

The record over the past year of The Examiner in the race relations field is an interesting and good one. The paper has carried ordinary human stories of blacks, treating them as ordinary human beings with successes and problems like other sections of the community. It has carried in-depth features about education, housing and employment prospects for Huddersfield's black

community, as well as problems among black teenagers.

It has opened its columns to the viewpoints of blacks and has given a fair coverage to the difficulties within the community relations scene.

Whilst some members of the HCRC were preventing the ADBU from joining its Council and accusing it of 'stirring up trouble', The Examiner ran a 28 inch feature on ADBU with a page headline, **'Working to help black people in Huddersfield acquire an identity'**, by senior reporter Denis Kilcommons, who is in the unique position of being intimately trusted by all the black organisations and by most black community leaders and youngsters.

Because it has featured the rows and intrigues in the HCRC (its inside information is usually good and reliable), The Examiner is looked upon as an 'enemy' by the HCRC establishment. Various attempts have been made to curtail its coverage, but to no avail.

If The Examiner has been looked upon with suspicion by the HCRC establishment over the past year, its race relations reportage has met with considerable support among the black community, as the following table shows:

Attitude towards the local Press

Question	*West Indians*	*Pakistanis*	*Indians*
Do you think the local press (the H.E.) is fair in its reporting about Asians and W. Indians.	Yes : 65% No : 35%	Yes : 65% No : 25%	Yes : 65% No : 24%

- *The Huddersfield Examiner has improved tremendously over the past year or so. It is fair, gives average coverage of community relations.—Mr Ben Malik, Huddersfield Pakistan Association.*
- *West Indians particularly can't complain. The Huddersfield Examiner has given us a lot of good publicity. Sometimes critical but always constructive. —Stanley Innis, Chairman Huddersfield Caribbean Association.*
- *The press is biased, always reporting the bad things about blacks.—18-year-old West Indian youth.*

Section Two: Wandsworth

'The WCCR is not and should not be an adjunct of the black lobby, it should be a body that aims to work itself out of a job'—Lionel Davis WCCR CRO.

Community Relations Activities

In July this year sixteen young West Indians aged between 16 and 20 years held a meeting in one of the rooms in the two houses they were renting in Putney in the London borough of Wandsworth. Their discussion centred round the BBC's request to film a follow-up discussion between them and the local police community relations liaison officer. The discussion was thorough and to the point. They agreed to the BBC filming the discussion on the following conditions: that the Corporation pay them a certain amount of money and that they be given a copy of the film. Among themselves they decided not to provide the BBC with an opportunity to depict them as 'hot heads'. To that end they would discuss the basic issues confronting them as young blacks in the area—firstly unemployment and homelessness, then the insensitivity of local authority and finally their relationship with the police only in so far as the latter represented the visible sign of authority. 'The police', one 17 year-old said summing up the concensus viewpoint, 'are not reponsible for the main things we suffer from in the area, neither are they the main culprits'.

In itself this meeting would not have warranted attention except that the 16 young blacks, who had now finally got the local authority to let them have the two houses for a two year period, had all been previously homeless, unemployed or had been in trouble with the police. They had managed a roof over their heads by squatting and had provided for themselves by, among other things, 'thieving'.

The person whom they had invited to their meeting was Cecil Ross, the youth worker at the Tooting Project who had encouraged them to act as a group, to decide things among themselves and who had helped them to get the two houses. They trusted him. Later on at the discussion with the BBC and in the filming, which took place at the Tooting Project in Garratt Lane, Tooting Broadway, where they had first met and still meet (as many blacks in the area do), they got the BBC to accede to their demands and refused to be drawn into a confrontation discussion with the police.

On the other side of the borough, at St John's Estate, west of Battersea High Street on the banks of the Thames, a dispute between two families had resulted in complaints. The one family, black, was alleged to have caused endless trouble

to neighbours through holding all night parties. The other family had complained to the offending family and the situation had become quite serious with the possibility of disruptions to community relations in the relatively highly black populated council estate. Complaints had been made to the police who had not intervened directly but had contacted the Wandsworth Community Relations Council for help. The Deputy Community Relations Officer, Lionel Davies, went to see the families and after a frank discussion with them community peace and harmony was restored. It was routine to him, having done this kind of thing umpteen times.

At Lavender Hill, in another part of the borough, on a Tuesday morning a homeless family was telling the housing officer at the Neighbourhood Centre their problems. They had exhausted their approaches to the local authority and other groups for help. The housing officer found, however, that they did qualify for urgent help. He telephoned some contacts and after some time and with considerable effort he managed to get them an appointment with someone in the local housing department. The family informed him a week later that they had been given temporary accommodation until permanent accommodation could be found for them.

The Housing Officer at the centre was Eric Smellie of the Wandsworth Community Relations Council, and the Neighbourhood Centre was a project of the WCCR. This was just one ordinary case in a full day's work which involved all aspects of housing.

Later that Tuesday evening at the Neighbourhood Centre six solicitors were giving free legal advice to people in the area.

In a house near Wandsworth Common a white woman was teaching an Asian mother English. It was one of their many weekly visits and they were now conversing in English, a language which not so long ago was alien to the Asian mother.

The teacher was one of the 100 odd volunteer home tutors who had been recruited, trained and supported by the WCCR Language Tuition Unit, under the supervision of Margaret Hinchcliff at 59 Trinity Road, Tooting, at the Milan Community Centre for Asians.

Not far from the Milan Community Centre a successful day nursery of about 24 children operates. It is the Rydevale Dale Nursery which was set up in 1972 to try to help meet the desperate need for day nursery provision in the Balham area. It has two nursery supervisors, three nursery assistants and a community worker. The nursery is run by the WCCR and is just one of the projects for under-fives with which the WCCR is involved.

These are just a few activities and projects taking place under the overall umbrella of the Wandsworth Council for Community Relations which is one of the largest staffed councils in the country.

Formed in 1967 by local people, the WCCR has built up a professional team of 27, assisted by over 200 volunteers, providing specialist services in language tuition, youth work, housing, employment, nursery education and community work; and operating from seven different centres. It has come a long way since it was set up, when it was served by only two people, Charles Boxer, the present Community Relations Officer, and a secretary, in a borough of some 302,000 people about a tenth of whom are immigrants coming mainly from the Caribbean, Asia and Africa.

How has Charles Boxer done it and to what extent has this expansion, which at the best of times has been called 'Boxer's empire building', been of any value to the community as a whole in Wandsworth? Does it mirror a meaningful race relations perspective in one of London's largest boroughs? And to what extent has the WCCR lived up to its aims which are, among others:

to advance the education of the inhabitants of Wandsworth without distinction of sex, race, religion and politics; to provide facilities in the interest of social welfare for recreation and leisure time occupation with the object of improving the conditions of life of these inhabitants, and to advance their education in so far as it concerns good citizenship in a multi-racial society; and to achieve all this, to bring together in the WCCR representatives of the statutory authorities, voluntary and other organisations engaged in similar purposes.

In short, to promote good community and race relations in the borough of Wandsworth. The WCCR's constitution, therefore, conforms to the general pattern suggested by the National Council for Commonwealth Immigrants (forerunner of the Community Relations Commission) and remains substantially the same.

The WCCR is composed of representatives of 32 organisations consisting of such diverse bodies as the Balham and Tooting Council of Churches, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, Citizens Advice Bureau, ILEA, The London Mosque, Metropolitan Police, W. Division, NUT Wandsworth, the People's National Party, Wandsworth and Putney Liberal Association, the West Indian Standing Conference and Task Force. It reviews its activities via a full council and executive.

Although this is an impressive paper list, the extent of representativeness of the black organisations affiliated to council,—how far they actually do represent black views in the borough—is indeed doubtful.

The People's National Party is an organisation representing a section of Jamaican island politics, the West Indian Standing Conference has very few

members in Wandsworth, and both the Pakistani Welfare Associations and the Southfields Sikh Association are primarily interested in social and parochial welfare matters concerning their own particular organisations.

Their affiliation to the WCCR on the one hand provides the Council with the presence of knowledgeable black individuals, but does not on the other hand provide it with the support of the black community, per se, through these individuals. Some organisations misjudge the WCCR's function as a quasi-statutory body and thus one where actual local and national power lies, and have been keen to promote the notion that the WCCR in some way **represents** ethnic minorities. This is especially true of the Asian affiliates.

Criticism of Charles Boxer is partly based on the assumption that the WCCR represents ethnic minorities and as such it is essential that the CRO in Wandsworth should be black. Criticism also centres around the dominant role the WCCR plays in the borough, thus according to some, stifling the developments of black organisations in the area.

Commenting on the notion that the WCCR in some way represents ethnic minorities, Charles Boxer said:

> *We reject this as a thoroughly paternalistic attitude to such minorities and as a misunderstanding of community theory. It is in our view essential to the growth of a succesful multi-racial society that ethnic minority groups should be strong and well organised and that they should present their views forcibly before appropriate authorities. The views of such groups will not necessarily coincide with the opinions of the WCCR. There are numerous divergencies between the aims of various minority groups. The WCCR as a community organisation will assist these groups, if they want us to, to promote their own aims. We act generally as community workers providing specialised assistance, advising and campaigning.*

The WCCR, according to Boxer, can only provide a very limited service. The problems of the 30,000 odd black residents who came mainly from the Caribbean, Asia and Africa had ranged over distinct areas such as education, employment, youth service, housing, police and the community and all were operated under separate authorities with their own specialised skills.

The WCCR tried to meet this difficulty by searching for funds to employ specialists and by opening more centres. According to Boxer:

> *It was however always clear to us that this development could never, within the confines of our kind of organisation, reach that point at which we could claim to be offering anything like a total service in the same way as a social services department and an education authority are supposed to be aiming at a* **total service.** *We knew that we would only be offering a limited service and we defined this limited service as necessary because we saw it as a*

model rather than a total solution. It was a **model** *to show authorities what might be done. It also gave our team a base within problems from which we could start to argue the case with authorities.*

His Council, he argues, is not just a **service organisation,** it is a service organisation which is inevitably a **pressure group for change.**

The **pressure** function he sees as particularly important for their work. It is not enough, he argues, in the complex system of authorities for a Council like the WCCR to represent the misgivings and anger of the black community. Change will only take place within the practical substance of existing institutions. Continuing he argued:

In our case in Wandsworth the executive committee employs a staff of some thirty workers and operates from seven different centres. A CRO running such a large unit must depend on management skills from his executive committee. When the CRO puts up to it a proposal for a new project he will expect it to be discussed in some detail and from different points of view, but the success of the proposal and the new project will depend on the majority of the judgement that has been made. An organisation of this size cannot depend on a haphazard fractious committee. A committee of the vociferous protesting kind is hardly likely to get down to launching and supporting a practical programme.

Of course such a structure as outlined above would become wholly inadequate if the role of the WCCR was to represent the interest of minority ethnic groups.

If the WCCR is limited to the interest of minority ethnic groups, then the interest of the rest of the community is naturally ruled out.

It means that employers, school teachers and social workers would hardly be appropriate on such a committee.

Properly speaking it should be composed entirely of representation of ethnic minorities as would be the case in any community organisation formed to represent its interest.

And further:

In our view the function of representing the interests of ethnic minorities belongs properly to the ethnic minorities themselves. Every effort should be made by the Government, and, of course, the WCCR to encourage the mature growth of such organisations especially when they undertake practical self help work. They must, however, necessarily operate independently from the WCCR which is a quite different kind of body.

The place of the black leader is first and most at the head of his immigrant group. Should he wish to serve on a CCR executive committee he might well have to perform a dual role. As head of his organisation he will be furthering the aims of the organisation he has chosen. These aims

will often not be those of the CCR and may on some occasions be in conflict with them.

Or as Charles Boxer's deputy CRO, Lionel Davies, puts it:

The WCCR is not and should not be an adjunct of the black lobby, it should be a body that aims to work itself out of a job.

To what extent do these views relate to the actuality of the activities of the WCCR and its CRO? And what is the response of the black community to the WCCR and its CRO, and how do they evaluate the activities of the WCCR vis-a-vis their life in Wandsworth?

In his latest report (1975) to the WCCR Annual General Meeting, the CRO pinpointed the work of the WCCR as it has developed over the last year as being based on three different categories of problems.

One, the problem which resolves basically to racial intolerance, prejudice or injustice.

Two, the problem which resolves to some cultural differences and handicaps the black group in its attempt to integrate.

Three, the type of problem which the black minority suffers, but which, on final analysis, resolves to a greater basic problem shared with the community at large.

It is in the framework of these perimeters that we must assess the work of the WCCR and how it relates to the day to day experience of blacks in the borough, since it covers, among others, the vital areas of race relations and housing, education, employment, youth, single mothers and the police.

Housing

In a borough which has one of the worst housing problems in Inner London, housing especially as far as it concerns blacks is clearly one of the major problems which has faced the WCCR since its inception eight years ago.

One of the first issues the WCCR enquired into was the housing situation in the borough. A housing group was established and a housing agency was set up at the headquarters of the WCCR, where it attempted to maintain a record of all the available accommodation in the district. It obtained this information from newsagents, advertisement boards, word of mouth.

After several months of operating in this manner the Housing Group reviewed its ultimate goals and the results achieved showed that the scheme was unsatisfactory apart from the publicity aspect and this only highlighted the extent of the problem.

In order to attack the roots of the problem, the nucleus of the group decided on a programme of self education, to become fully acquainted with the actual situation by going out to talk to people, by getting acquainted with the social services, the GLC etc.

This group then developed to the stage of being able to set up independently when a grant was forthcoming from Shelter, and premises were found so that a regular service could be offered. The following year the WCCR was able to appoint a West Indian Housing Officer who initially spent a lot of time in finding suitable housing for Ugandan refugees in the borough, work which gave him a very useful introduction to the housing situation in Wandsworth. This did not prevent him from participating in other major initiatives in the borough. One of these was a Housing Forum which was organised in conjunction with the Wandsworth Housing Rights Centre and Wandsworth Shelter. 'The purpose of the forum', Eric Smellie, the Housing Officer, said, 'was to give local groups and organisations an opportunity for joint action on housing issues in the borough. Working groups were set up to look into empty properties, tenants rights, housing in outer London and housing finance, rights of the single homeless and compulsory purchase'. After drawing up campaign plans the groups then lobbied the appropriate councillors.

The Borough of Wandsworth has a total housing stock in excess of 22,000 dwellings, of which 16,458 dwellings are on 43 estates all of which have more than 100 dwellings. The housing stock can be divided into three sections, those built before 1945 (35.8% of the total stock), those built between 1945 and 1964 (24.7%), and finally those built since 1964 (39.3%). Of all the dwellings, 64.8% are flats most of which have two or three bedrooms (73.1%).

The Borough is divided into four administrative areas, namely Eastern, Central, Western and Southern. Eastern District has nine estates with a total of 4,215 units. The estates form a semi-circle around Battersea Park, stretching from Savona in the Northeast through the Doddington Battersea Park conurbation to St John's in the North West.

Central District has fourteen estates with a total of 4,478 units. The main area of concentration is found between Clapham Junction and the river, the remainder are found between Wandsworth Town and Earlsfield stretching out on either side of Garratt Lane.

Western District has thirteen estates with a total of 4,245 units. The main concentration of eight estates are found in the area between West Hill, Putney Heath and the border with Merton. The remainder are spread throughout the area.

Southern District has ten estates with a total of 3,385 units. There is no real area of concentration but the majority are centred around the Trinity Road/Tooting Broadway area.

It is interesting to note that the districts with the smallest areas, namely Eastern and Central have virtually the same number of dwellings as the other districts. In addition Eastern District has the least number of estates.

This large concentration of council estates, in a relatively confined area, is not the result of mistakes made in the past, but very much the result of recent

planning, eight of the estates being built in the last ten years.

Replying to the question which Council estates they found the most undesirable, the majority of the 70 or so black council tenants interviewed placed St John's, west of Battersea High Street, Henry Prince in the Central District, Savona in Battersea Park Road, Wilberforce in the Central District and Balham Hill in the Southern District as those lowest in their choice.

- *The flats are small and the stairway is badly lit. They are damp, the window frames are old and rotten and we do not have separate toilet and bathroom and there is no handbasin in the bathroom. The flats are the worst you can get in this borough.—West Indian tenant.*

- *The Council seems to pack black families in these flats. We were desperate for a flat so when they offered us one we thought it was heaven. We have asked to be moved but it has been in vain. The place is not nice. Do you know that when we got here we were the second black family on this balcony? Now all the flats except two of the 24 are occupied by black families.—Jamaican husband living at St John's.*

There is no doubt that all those inteviewed in the Council estates feel that there is a concerted effort to discriminate against them, by housing them in the worst estates.

Although the local housing authority denies any conscious discrimination in housing blacks in particular estates and areas, an examination of Council housing shows a fairly high-concentration of blacks in estates like St John's, west of Battersea High Street, Savona Estate on the extreme north east of the Borough and estates in the Western District.

> *Many of us feel that the authorities offer us these bad flats because few whites want them. It is bad when you concentrate blacks in one estate or area. What you then do is to stop whites from coming to such estates. Apart from that it seems once the Council has the poor blacks concentrated in particular estates then they refuse to improve existing facilities or add new ones.—Antiguan bus driver at Savona Estate.*

> *You should have to change the colour of your skin to get a Council house in a nice and decent area.—Young West African couple.*

An examination of some of the most unpopular estates among black Council tenants and their comparison with other Council estates where there is a very low number of blacks bore out much of the above criticism.

In a discussion paper prepared by Eric Smellie in April, 1975, for the WCCR, the point is made that in areas of high immigrant concentration public housing provides only a small percentage of housing available. And that conversely, few

60.3

black families live on the well maintained estates in the middle class areas of the borough.

Smellie further points out that the national picture does nothing to contradict the local situation. 24% of ethnic minorities are in the privately rented furnished sector compared with 2% white UK born citizens.

Practically, over the past year, he has concentrated his efforts on housing for people with special needs and he sees this continuing as his major task in the coming year.

As a consequence, the WCCR has made some progress in providing housing for people in special categories and much of the work of the past year will materialise into new homes in the coming months.

The Home Office has given a £60,000 grant for a **working boys' hostel** under the Urban Aid Scheme and the WCCR is in the process of looking for a suitable property to convert. When completed the hostel will provide accommodation for ten boys who will stay for a period of up to a year. The hostel is aimed primarily at helping boys working in low paid jobs.

Two houses which Wandsworth Council provided in a redevelopment area for a minimum of two years are already occupied by sixteen West Indian youths, mentioned earlier in relation to a BBC discussion. The houses are in Putney and were boarded up and empty before the Council gave them over to the Threshold Housing Association which, in co-operation with the WCCR, brought them up to a habitable standard. The youths came via the Tooting Youth Project and they all pay rent to live in the houses, the money going to pay off the cost of the improvements.

Another scheme which Eric Smellie hopes is near to fruition is an extension of the **'homes for one parent families' scheme** which was started four years ago with one house. Negotiations for three additional houses have been completed and it is hoped that they will be occupied this winter by at least twelve unmarried mothers. At present Smellie, together with volunteers, is redecorating these premises.

In the past the WCCR has been able to obtain flats for all the mothers when they leave the original house after twelve months, thanks to the help of the Solon Housing Association. The problem will be much greater in the future with sixteen mothers a year to be rehoused and it is hoped, says Smellie, that the Borough Council will be able to offer assistance to housing associations in fulfilling this task.

In recognition of the work he has done in Wandsworth, Eric Smellie was invited to sit on a working party looking at the needs of very young mothers and fathers which was set up by the National Council for One Parent Families earlier this year.

Smellie has had regular meetings with officers of the Borough Council's housing department and the WCCR has recommended that the Council does

more serious research into the effect of their housing policy on minority groups in the community.

With housing as one of the major social problems in Wandsworth it plays a significant part in the work of the WCCR's community workers in Balham and Battersea.

From all the above it is clear what role the WCCR, its Housing Officer and community workers are playing in the area of housing needs for the whole community and in particular for blacks. Black response has been varied as the following quotes from the 140 people interviewed indicate:

- *I was having problems with my white neighbours who were not happy with us moving into these Council flats. I reported the matter to Eric and he came and discussed this with my white neighbours. We are now good friends.—Jamaican tenant at Ackroyden estate.*
- *We were homeless after being evicted by our landlord. Smellie was able to help us.—West Indian mother.*
- *I did not know who to go to when I wanted to complain about the landlord and the shocking state the place was in. I was told by a friend to go to the WCCR Neighbourhood Centre in Lavender Hill. I was advised by their Housing Officer. I was glad he was black. I could speak to him openly. He also put me in touch with their employment officer who is now helping my son.—Guyanese seamstress.*

In response to the question: **Are you satisfied with the area you live in?** and, **if you had a choice would you move somewhere else?** almost 40% said they were happy, and about 60% said they would like to move somewhere else.

When asked **Whether or not you had the same chances of buying your own houses as whites, or do you find it more difficult?** a substantial number (68%) said they found it more difficult.

And to the question, **Whether you think blacks have as much chance of getting good council houses as whites, or whether you find it difficult?** about 70% thought blacks found it more difficult.

From quite a number of the respondents it became clear that many of them had not suffered discrimination themselves, but that relatives and friends had informed them of their experiences and their (the respondents) attitudes had been based on this second hand information.

An overwhelming majority (75%) thought the Council was doing enough in housing blacks, but a minority (25%) thought white tenants were opposed to having blacks as neighbours.

On the other hand, 88% of those who had sought help from the WCCR with their housing problems were satisifed with the help received.

Employment opportunities

Just as blacks find themselves concentrated, both consciously and unintentionally, in certain residential areas, so also do they land up in certain categories of jobs which are usually the type of work or a branch of industry many whites attempt to avoid; these are lower in status and consequently in income.

Blacks are concentrated in the service and manufacturing industries, and in other light industries such as the assembling of TV sets. In addition they provide an essential part of the labour force in the public services, in particular London Transport and local hospitals.

Wandsworth's general unemployment record, whilst not astronomically high, is generally higher than in Greater London as a whole. In 1971 6% of all economically active males were unemployed in Wandsworth as compared with 4.7% in Greater London. The figures for women were 5.1% and 4.5% respectively.

A few people have moved out of the Borough with the firms, but these are mainly those of executive status or with some special skill. The majority of ordinary workers (including blacks) prefer to remain in Wandsworth to take their redundancy pay and receive benefit money until they can find suitable alternative employment.

The manufacturing industries are of prime importance to employment in Wandsworth. In 1973 manufacturing together with the service industries employed the highest number of people in both the Tooting and Battersea area. However, between 1971-73 the manufacturing industries showed a definite decline in the number of persons they employed and this trend appears to be continuing with the majority of those employed in 1974 in both Battersea and Tooting being in the manufacturing and construction industries.

As early as 1967, two years after its inception, the WCCR decided that the area of employment opportunities among blacks in the area needed special attention. A volunteer from the Executive Committee, Alan Grey, became Chairman of the Employment Group of the WCCR.

This group persuaded the mayor of Wandsworth to invite a number of businessmen to the Town Hall to meet some WCCR officers to discuss informally what the WCCR was trying to do in Wandsworth and how businessmen could help.

The next year Alan Gray's report dealt with the urgency of appointing an expert worker to deal with this whole question of equal job opportunities. The WCCR successfully set up a trust, The Wandsworth Community Trust, consisting of businessmen, which would help finance the employment of an Employment Liaison Officer whose appointment took place the next year.

One of the first things the Employment Liaison Officer did was to look at the question of unemployment among young blacks and urged the need for special further education facilities for unemployed young people.

On the other hand, the Neighbourhood Centre where the ELO was based, became a centre for young blacks to pop in and ask for advice once they got to hear of her and her approach to the employment situation.

The new Employment Liaison Officer, Alan Symonds, replaced the first ELO who had returned to industry. Although he continued her work, he cut out the casework which Miss Lee had done at Lavender Hill and concentrated his activities on the employment field at the Tooting Youth Project, a project where the workers are in contact with large numbers of young people, many of whom have employment problems.

It has not been easy to collect official statistics concerning black unemployment as these are limited to total unemployed, broken down by sex, age and place of birth. An examination of the statistics show that over the past year the number of blacks unemployed in the Tooting and Battersea areas (the areas where blacks are overwhelmingly concentrated) has increased, and though unemployment generally has also increased, it is interesting to note that the percentage of black men among the total of wholly unemployed men has risen.

In a detailed and revealing study carried out by the WCCR Employment Liaison Officer Alan Symonds in the middle of 1975, the following picture of the employment position of blacks in Wandsworth emerges, which is generally in line with the investigation by this author and confirmed by numerous interviews he carried out.

Discussing first the position of black women, he finds that there is generally a great demand among these women for employment. This is reflected in the high percentage of black women among the wholly unemployed. On average over the past four years about 25% of female unemployed in Battersea and about 27% of female unemployed in Tooting were blacks. In Battersea over the past year the percentage of black women among the total of wholly unemployed women has actually fallen from 31.3% in May 1974 to 27.1% in May 1975.

One reason for this high unemployment among black women is the lack of suitable employment locally as well as discriminating practices in employment.

- *Well the jobs you get is just sewing and things like that. I am a clerical worker and can do office work. Two firms I went to were not interested.—29-year-old housewife.*

- *They don't tell you straight but it is because of the colour of your skin. I can only get a job sweeping an office at night. I am not stupid or illiterate. Is that the only kind of job I am destined to do?—middle aged mother of four.*

The belief among some black women of discrimination in employment is of course shared by black men. Indeed the part of the interviews which dealt with employment was very often dominated by expressions of resentment. This is particularly significant since most of those blacks interviewed had fairly realistic

as well as modest job aspirations. Most often the resentment stemmed not from personal job dissatisfaction but from the conviction that racial prejudice was widespread. In contrast to the pattern of replies obtained on satisfaction with housing there were more complaints about jobs.

In answer to the question, **What kind of job did you want when you came to Britain/Wandsworth?** 65.4% said they had no particular kind of job in mind when they left their country of origin or when they arrived in the borough.

Those who had were then asked, **Did you get the job you were hoping to get once you had made up your mind, or were you just hoping you would?** Nearly 70% had come with firm expectations and as many as 64% of them had obtained the kind of job they wanted. In contrast, no more than 10% of those who had only been hopeful had succeeded.

The extent to which blacks believe in the existence of racial discrimination was illustrated when they were asked, **Do you believe that blacks stand the same chance of getting a job as a white who has the same qualifications and experience?** More than 87% said no and the reason they believed this was because of their colour.

- *I left Uganda as an accountant. There was no real difficulty getting a similar job here.—Ugandan Asian.*
- *I wanted a printing job, but could not get it. Insteaa I drifted into motor mechanics.—Jamaican mechanic.*
- *I was a plumber in Trinidad. I tried to get a similar job here but I was told I did not have the necessary paper experience, although I knew everything about plumbing. It took me ages to get a job. I am now employed by the Wandsworth Borough Council as a maintenance worker, nothing to do with plumbing.—Antiguan born maintenance worker.*
- *Discrimination? Yes there is plenty. How many black foremen do you see?—car worker.*

Unemployment amongst the black population in Wandsworth has been rising twice as fast as unemployment among the rest of the local population, according to the latest available figures.

These show that over the 12 months from May 1974 to May this year unemployment amongst blacks in the three employment areas covering the Borough of Wandsworth rose 106% compared with an increase of 50% among the rest of the population.

While these unemployment figures are disturbing they are not particularly surprising as evidence elsewhere has suggested that blacks and young workers are the two groups worst hit by a downturn in the economy.

This is largely because blacks tend to be concentrated in the jobs most

affected by a recession—unskilled and semi-skilled production work. The redundancies at Decca are largely in this sphere and although the company went out of its way to ensure there was no discrimination more than 50% of those laid off were blacks.

But what worries elderly blacks more in Wandsworth is not only discriminatory practices in the employment field as far as they believe they affect them, but the consequences of such practices on their youngsters. This is also a problem which has exercised the attention of the WCCR and its various community workers.

The Deputy CRO, Lionel Davies said:

> *Racial prejudice in employment has destroyed the confidence of our young people who are beginning to become completely disillusioned with society and what it has got to offer them.*

Over the past fifteen to twenty years large numbers of black children have come to Wandsworth to join their parents. While it is true that the majority of black children now in schools in the area are those born in this country (second generation as they are called), those who have just left school and are in their last year at school were usually born overseas.

Enquiries in Wandsworth confirm a growing number of unemployed black youngsters. When those who had no interest in work were asked the reasons for their attitude, over 90% replied that they felt their chances of a good job were very limited because of their colour. This information they got either through direct experience or through friends. Many believed **prior** to their search for work that they would not get **any** decent job at all.

Many of them blamed poor advice given them, amongst others by Careers Officers, whom they felt had not advised them properly.

Many of the youngsters had lost their drive and ambition and many blamed the increasing failure rate in school.

The following table gives an idea of the high percentage among the black youth who said it was difficult to get a job in the area.

Employment problems among black youth

Question		*Response %*	
a)	Was it difficult to get a job in the area?	(a) Yes	70%
		No	30%
b)	If so, what do you think were the reasons which made it difficult for you to get a job?	(b) Colour	90%
Are you happy with your work conditions?		Yes	55%
		No	45%
Have you been unemployed before?		Yes	60%

Until very recently the employment problems of the under 18's were the sole responsibility of the careers officers and though now these 16- and 17-year-olds can register at an Employment Agency it is clear that very few in fact do this.

Many youths have a problem deciding what type of employment to pursue when they leave school and as they have little experience, if any, of work or knowledge of job opportunities, they therefore depend on the careers officers and the school for guidance and advice.

The advice usually given according to the youths interviewed is hopelessly inadequate and to a great extent gives also an insight into the thinking of careers officers.

- *When I said I wanted to become a teacher, the careers officer told me that a typing job would do me better.—19-year-old West Indian Clerical worker.*
- *I wanted to do printing you know. The careers officer sent me to a publishing firm who wanted to give me a cleaning up job. They said they had been told that this is what I wanted by the careers officer who phoned them.—18-year-old unemployed youth.*

This problem of insufficient help in finding suitable employment affects most young people, but it is exacerbated for the West Indian youth due to a lack of family background knowledge of industry.

Another difficulty facing young blacks is the question of apprenticeships. There are insufficient numbers of these offered in Wandsworth and the maximum age of entry is too low. This age factor affects the 18-20 age group, who having worked for a couple of years and gained some experience of employment, now wish to take a formal training in a certain trade, but find that they are too old to enter.

Monitoring unemployment among black youth is further complicated by *homelessness*, which is growing in Wandsworth. When a youngster has no roof over his head it becomes difficult for him to establish the necessary state of mind which is so essential for job stability.

Tooting Project

To overcome some of these problems specialised help is needed for young blacks to assist them to find suitable employment, where that is possible; and generally to help them to adjust to the society in which they live. Such work is being attempted at the WCCR Tooting Project with which Alan Symonds, the Employment Liaison Officer of the WCCR, is intimately involved. Symonds gives employment advice and has been responsible for getting numerous black youngsters who visit the Project employment.

Centred in Garratt Lane near the Tooting Broadway tube station in an area recognised as one of the three worst for need in the Borough, the project is staffed by two full-time detached workers, a secretary and volunteers whose strength has varied between 14 and 17 during the past year. The detached workers, West Indian born Cecil Ross and Pat Martin, are seconded by the Youth Service of the WCCR, and their centre is a large residential house which has been converted into a club room, offices, libraries and interviewing rooms.

The Tooting Project shares its experience with and is supported by the WCCR and particularly by Lionel Davis the Deputy CRO. Over the last two years it has developed a drop-in centre widely used by West Indian youngsters of the area.

The centre has a clear purpose within its operation. It is a place where young West Indians can find their way back into education, employment, to their families. Whereas it provides a place where problems can be talked out with people who understand them, it also provides an incentive to solve their own problems. The centre runs regular classes for the youngsters where they can be helped to regain their confidence in learning and finding a job.

The value of the activities going on in the centre has been recognised by the Further Education Authorities which have appointed a full-time Outreach Worker to operate in the centre and assist in forming classes and provide a link with the facilities of further education.

In the course of this work the Tooting Project has become the network centre not only for West Indian young people who need help, but for various independent West Indian groups who meet there and are provided with facilities, like the Caribbean Showboat group, a Ras Tafarian group of 50 youngsters, a black mothers' group and an Asian group of young and adult people of both sexes called the Darpan Arts Group. It has also provided an opportunity for local West Indians, both adults and youngsters, who have seen the importance of the work of the centre and have come along to help and use the centre as a place where they can provide an effective service for the young West Indians with the support of the permanent staff. There is now a large number of such people who are finding in the centre an opportunity of helping their own community—they include a local West Indian Councillor, school teacher, lecturer and barrister.

According to Cecil Ross, employment is one of the most serious problems the Project has to contend with:

> *There is nothing in the area for young people. In order to get jobs most of the boys, who seem to want either motor mechanic or mechanical engineering jobs, have to go out to other industrial areas like Surbiton. It's a long way to travel and fares are high. Many engineering jobs are denied to both black and white as the advised kids are going along to interviews with CSEs to compete with guys with GCEs.*

I believe most of the employment officers fail to deal adequately with the needs of the youngsters. Again, the school careers officers are not coping with the need these boys have. Many of these boys leave school and hang around for a year or two doing nothing.

The Government fails to provide any 'limited skills' courses for youngsters between 16 and 18, and the Government courses apply to older people who often don't make the most of these courses because they can't afford to live on the grants and have nowhere to work at home if they have a home.

The problem of apprenticeships and vocational/occupational training are the most numerous and difficult to deal with at the project, according to both Cecil Ross and Alan Symonds. As the majority of enquiries are from youth between the ages of 17 and 19 who have few, if any, academic qualifications, the majority are unsolvable.

Most enquiries are for electrical (installation, radio and TV, electronic, telecommunications), motor mechanical, mechanical engineering or carpentry trades. The London Electricity Board, the Central Electricity Generating Board, parts of London Transport and Wandsworth Borough Council Direct Building Department have so many applications for their limited apprenticeship schemes that they are able to impose CSE or GCE qualification requirements on applicants.

Despite all this, the project was responsible during the year for placing over a dozen youths as motor mechanic apprentices. Youths were also placed as trainee account clerks, trainee accountants, laboratory technicians, trainee painters, electricians, welders and as apprentices in various other fields of employment.

'However, let's be frank,' commented Cecil Ross, 'we are in many ways still only scratching the surface of the problems and much of the time, because of shortage of workers and helpers, are not able to provide the sort of follow-up service that youngsters need.'

This is an obvious weakness, and it becomes difficult to ascertain how effective the project service has been.

The project has been able to establish good relations with the Department of Employment and the attitude of DEO officials has changed for the better since the project made contact.

Education

Another area which has involved the workers at the centre has been the problem of education in relation to black youth. One of the first things Cecil Ross and Pat Martin did when they started the project was to make contact with the schools.

Because of this school contact a group of lads from a secondary school—The Ernest Bevin—visited the centre one afternoon to hear what it was all about and to chat with members of the staff. Several months later the lads were still visiting the centre for supplementary education and other social activities. However, lack of staff prevented the centre from playing a more active role in the school.

Like other boroughs, Wandsworth has its high proportion of black ESN children. What the WCCR and the Tooting Project has done is to provide free supplementary education for black youngsters in reading, writing, elementary maths and assistance in filling in application forms, techniques for job and college interviews, discussion on other jobs available in the employment field and discussion on current affairs. The project has been successful in assisting many youths to enrol for courses at various colleges of further education. Other youths have been encouraged to enrol for 'A' level courses. One youth, with whom one of the youth workers was involved and of whom it was said that he was a 'write off', by other social agencies, was successful in obtaining two subjects at 'O' level. Another youth, with whom the same worker was dealing, took five 'O' levels in chemistry, English, maths, physics and biology. He got four grade 'A' and one grade 'B'. A further youth was successful in accounts and English language.

All of these youths had been in trouble with the police at one time or another. Cecil Ross commented:

> *It confirms the belief of the workers that most of these youths are generally in need of understanding, patience, tolerance and encouragement and above all someone to really believe in them and to get them to believe in themselves.*

- *I am very glad that I went to the Tooting Project. The people there made me feel confident of myself. I am a better person for that experience.—18-year-old youth.*
- *My reading was bad and I was ashamed. But the people at the project changed all that. What individual attention we lacked in school we got at Garratt Lane. I have told quite a few of my friends about the centre. I know they are going there now.—18-year-old.*

Cecil Ross also spends a few mornings a week at various schools where he teaches 'social studies'.

A visit with him one morning to one school illustrated the immensity of the task ahead for all black teachers, youth workers and community workers. The 40 odd class was roughly divided into 60% black and 40% white. The class was considered dull, inarticulate and with no initiative. Cecil Ross had been with them for several weeks and had gained their confidence after about the fifth class. When asked to talk about the school, their future expectations and

attitude towards their parents, these youths were not inarticulate at all as the following excerpts from their answers show:

- *Our language teacher is a funny man. He seems to disregard us completely and has a funny idea that we are stupid. He gets us to write out pages and pages of rubbish. When we ask him why all the writing and the rubbish, he tells us it is to improve our writing and language. What he asks us to write out is nonsense. How can you take an interest. If he gives something worthwhile and good to write out it would not be so bad. But all he does is let us write and write and write. We learn nothing from him.*
- *I think my parents really are not interested in what I am doing at school. You know they never ask me. I stayed away three days from school once. Truant, yes. Well they did not know.*
- *I was born in this country. My parents came from Jamaica. I don't know what I am going to do when I leave this school. I have not thought about it.*

Suspension from schools

One of the consequences of the frustrations black youth suffer from at school is the growing number of them being suspended from schools in the area. Enquiries in the area reveal more than 10 youths in a few weeks had been suspended. Further enquiries at the Tooting Project and from some teachers indicate the alarming number of about 50 suspended black youngsters in the Borough. A few disturbing facts emerging from this enquiry reveals that:

Suspensions were lasting from periods of six months to one year, which is too long for any child.

These youths were beginning to show the syndrome displayed by men unemployed for long periods during the depression of the 1930s.

These youths were at great risk in the community, that is, easily led into stealing and other petty criminal activities.

There was a scarcity of home tutors, a fact acknowledged and recognised by the local Education Welfare Officer.

Many of these youths were already suffering in their school work, and these long periods of suspensions only tended to exacerbate their personal academic inadequacies, frustrations and bitterness towards whites as they are aware of what is going to happen to them after they leave school,—the long road to dead-end jobs.

The Education Welfare Department seems very hesitant to use its legal

powers to compel schools to accept pupils, especially when the period of suspension is beginning to grow longer and longer.
If a parent fails to send a child to school, the Education Welfare Officer does not hesitate to warn such an erring parent of his or her responsibility for the child's education. Yet, the same authority seems almost helpless in action or in pushing ILEA into action to initiate programmes that could assist in alleviating some of the educational harm being caused to pupils suspended for too long a period.

The seriousness of this problem has not yet filtered through to authority but thanks to work by the Tooting Project this is coming to the fore in the borough. The workers there deal daily with questions of suspension.

One of the areas where the Tooting Project has not had success is in the contacting and maintaining of strong links with parents. For every ten youths dealt with at the Project, only one parent has been in contact with the centre. The reasons according to the youth workers have been the sheer physical problem of the workers being hard pressed with the youngsters. They have thus found it very difficult to maintain the continuous contact that is required. The project workers have visited parents and guardians during the process of dealing with some cases but after home visits and invitations very rarely do parents visit the centre. And, more important, the youths themselves are not too keen for workers to visit their parents.

Another cause of conflict, interesting enough, is the attraction some West Indian youths have for the Rastafarian religion. Their joining this faith has brought the anger of their parents on them. This attitude is hard to comprehend when it is a fact that West Indian adults belong to a variety of religious sects or organisations.

All these problems contribute towards youngsters taking the final step of leaving home of their free will, or being evicted by their parents. Many of them become homeless.

Homelessness

It is difficult to give an accurate number of black youth who are actually homeless, but of the 150 interviewed, 15 were homeless. It is conservatively estimated by youth workers in Wandsworth that the number of homeless black youth is in the region of 250 to 300. The Tooting Project alone estimates that in their immediate area of Tooting there are about 100 homeless black youth. A majority of these youths live for a short period with friends, changing places from time to time. Others club together and live in poor conditions. A handful sleep rough or squat.

About 40% of these homeless people needing support are girls. Many of them become pregnant and, if lucky—like 17-year-old Margaret—get some sort of accommodation from the Borough Council.

I lived with my parents in Balham. When I came to Wandsworth I was 10 years old. Before that I lived with my grandma in Port of Spain. I did not like the school here. The teacher said I was speaking a funny language. The other children teased me. I hated him. My mum and dad both worked and I never really had time to talk about things, about sex and so on. After school we had nothing really to do except fetch my younger brother from the child minder at about 5 p.m. I used to go to a friend's place or they used to come to our place. Some of the friends were boys. When my mum came to hear about it she thrashed me and told me not to bring any boys home. It was nothing really bad between us, but she was so strict. She even tried to get me indoors at 9 p.m. and that when I was nearly 15 years old. Well I wasn't going to just stay around, I used to meet my friends, boys and girls, wherever I could. Well I had this baby. My mother was so angry when she found out I was pregnant, she threw me out. Well I went to social security. They said I was too young. I went to the employment office and then to social services who got me into a mother and baby home very quickly after the baby was born. I have this flat now from the borough and money comes from social security. If my parents were understandable and spared a thought and some time for me, this would not have happened.

So worrying has the problem of homelessness and the increasing number of one parent families become that the WCCR has managed to acquire four houses which it has partly renovated for the use of about 25 one parent families. These mothers range from the ages of 17 to 20, pay their own rents and electricity; most stay at these homes for about a year, during which time it is hoped they will settle down. They help each other and one condition is that they must use contraceptives. One young mother summed up the feeling of the other girls at these houses:

I really don't know what I would have done. I was living in bad conditions, actually rough. I feel secure here. It has given me hope and made me feel that I can be trusted. My little girl is safe and happy here, she has other children to play with. We help each other and have become independent of men as far as depending upon them for our daily upkeep. The WCCR has really been a Godsend.

The WCCR is also in the process of setting up a working boy's hostel from an urban aid grant. The hostel will cater for the growing number of homeless youth. Among those it has helped are the 16 young Rastafarians mentioned at the beginning of this enquiry who were homeless and jobless.

Asian youth

The performance of Asian youngsters in Wandsworth schools is on the whole better than that of West Indians. This includes the progress after two years that

the children among the 800 Ugandan Asians are making in their schools.[7] Naturally this has led to many educationists and social workers to believe that all is well among Asian youngsters, and there is, therefore, an assumption that these youngsters are making a smooth transition to their new life in Wandsworth. But in so far as their school performance has succeeded in giving this impression, other problems have been created for the Asian youngster—and especially the more Westernised Ugandan Asian—and his family, and this is something which is causing some alarm among the Borough's Asian community.

Asian children are living in two cultures, described thus by a local Asian community leader:

> *The child goes to the local school. He has English friends in many an instance. Even if he just associates with other Asian children he cannot keep out the influences of other children. It is unnatural and just cannot work. He sees how they behave, how they talk, their manners. Sometimes, although not so much now, some parents might even object to their children having school meals. But with the co-operation of many heads in the Borough, the food offered Asian children has become more selective and does not offend against custom and religious beliefs. Many parents fear that their children will forget their own culture and religion. We don't have a problem of the wearing of 'Shalwar' (trousers) here.*
>
> *Now imagine these children with their new friends and an alien cultural atmosphere, not antagonistic but dominant. Is it therefore surprising the expectations and aspirations of the second generation Asians should be any different from those of the local youths, especially since they will have the same sort of education and naturally would expect to be treated equally?*

It is now not an uncommon sight in areas of Wandsworth to see a number of Asian youths gathering on the street corners or going about in groups. How long this gang syndrome will remain an innocent and harmless one is anybody's guess, but what is certain is the tendency for Asian youths to question the hitherto unquestioned control and final word of their parents.

Language Tuition

One of the problems militating against a smoother youth-parent relationship is the lack of knowledge of the English language by many Asian parents, especially the women folk who arrive here with a very limited knowledge of English. Knowledge of the English language would also help communication between black and white and between blacks and authority.

Since its inception in 1967 the WCCR has been involved in helping in the language problems of blacks, especially the Asian population which is the

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highest in London after the Borough of Brent. The problem has become even bigger now with the arrival of over 800 Ugandan Asians in the Borough.

The first language teaching of black mothers began in Wandsworth after attempts to provide a class in the usual way had failed. A Language Tuition Unit (LTU) was then set up by the WCCR. Its organiser, Margaret Hinchcliff, and the Asian member of the WCCR met with a group of people including the Principal of Central Wandsworth Institute, Miss Coast, to plan the first class. Asian homes were visited by small teams of volunteers, starting with the most influential families. Many students enrolled, and as more came other classes developed in the Borough.

Among the men there were also teenage boys who arrived too late to catch up on their schooling. There were the work seekers of all ages and finally the elderly men who wanted to enjoy retirement, understand their grandchildren and be able to follow TV programmes.

The young Asian brides between the ages of 16 and 19 could attend full-time courses, while the mothers needed part-time classes with a creche and playgroup support. To meet this situation the WCCR set up a mother-toddler group with a creche helper to look after the toddlers while the mothers learned English.

Work seekers needed evening classes, while the unemployed needed special tuition classes.

Lastly, home language tutoring was established by the Language Tuition Unit for students who could not reach any of these classes for reasons as varied as health, having a new baby, shiftwork, having several small children, distance, illiteracy and feelings of inadequacy.

At present the Unit sponsors 37 classes in co-operation with the adult education institutes in the Borough. Three new classes started at Easter 1975 and another last September.

But how do Asians themselves view the activities of the LTU and the WCCR? Of the 90 Asians interviewed, the following quotations give a general idea of how they feel:

- *I did not speak any English. I could not really move around or go shopping except at my local Asian shop. My husband did most of the shopping. If I did go to the big supermarkets I had to take my son and daughter who speak English to go with me. I was as a result very lonely. An Asian lady from the Unit came and asked me if I wanted to learn English. I said yes and after a few days an English tutor came. She taught me to speak and understand English. I went to further classes later. Now I am quite good in English and can communicate. It has changed by whole life.—Asian housewife.*

- *New people know how it feels to be cut off from activities around you. That is how I felt when I came to this country. Isolated and sad. But thanks to*

the home tutor from the Unit my life has now changed. She was also a friend and opened up my eyes to how whites thought. She spoke a lot to me and helped me a lot.—mother of three.

- *I never knew there was a Language Unit. I've been here for 7 years. Nobody ever came to me.—female factory worker.*

Another important ancillary activity of the LTU is its community work with Asian members of the community. This it conducts mainly through the forum of the Wandsworth Asian Community Group, a group which meets once a month and was initiated by the Language Unit.

But while the LTU had provided the Asian community with the language to communicate and stimulate the will to mix with the local community, the extent of this cross fertilisation, the WCCR felt, was restricted by the lack of facilities in which activities such as variety concerts and exhibitions could take place.

Arrival of Ugandan Asians

With the coming of the Ugandan Asians this need became even more desperate. The LTU and the WCCR then took the opportunity to apply to the Home Office for a grant under Urban Aid. The Home Office initially turned down the WCCR's application, but changed its position after protest from the WCCR and approved a grant of £21,000 plus another £6,000 a year for the annual running costs.

It is hoped that the centre can be built on land behind the WCCR's two existing offices in Trinity Road, but the scheme has yet to get planning permission from the Borough Council. The centre will hold up to 100 people and will be used for a range of functions including pre-school activities and a club for old age Ugandan refugees. In the evening it will be used as a club for various organisations.

While the building will be largely used by the refugees it will extend the facilities which the WCCR has already built up for Asian groups and the community at large. A community worker will be employed to run the centre and use it as a base to work with various groups in the surrounding area.

Of the 800 refugees in Wandsworth, 80% have settled in the Balham-Tooting area.

The problem of settling in the Ugandan Asians fell squarely on the shoulders of the WCCR which set up a Resettlement Project in 1972 when the first refugees started to come into Wandsworth. The WCCR received regular information of new arrivals from the Ugandan Resettlement Board. With the help of the Language Tuition Unit and other volunteers the WCCR's workers in the project started visiting the families.

The hard pressed members of the Asian community took friends and relatives into already overcrowded homes. Urmela Patel, the WCCR's Resettlement Officer, describes how the WCCR coped with the problem:

> *We tried to help all the refugees in finding jobs, assisting in the search for homes, claiming social security, giving out clothes, blankets and other needed items, getting admission into schools and colleges etc. But very serious problems remained—problems which every immigrant will recognise but which, in the case of the Ugandan Asians, were dramatically worse as they arrived here destitute, homeless, unprepared and with families split up.*
>
> *Within these last two years many changes have taken place. To begin with, 180 families moved into Wandsworth.*
>
> *We managed to help almost all the families in solving their problems regarding housing, employment, education and welfare.*
>
> *We started collecting the names of all the refugee families who were in urgent need of housing. We approached the council and through the Solon Housing Association bought more than 20 houses with local authority finance.*

After the properties were converted the WCCR Resettlement Officer and the WCCR Housing Officer managed to rehouse many families. But problems still remained in welfare and employment.

Local statutory agencies were showing little concern for the refugees and the Ugandan Resettlement Board saw its role only in terms of moving refugees out of the camps into the community. All this made the prospects of further help for WCCR's essentially community orientated work look rather bleak. Through a carefully planned campaign the WCCR pressured the government to rethink its refugee policy and the Home Office began to accept a responsibility for refugees in the community. With the Urban Aid grant approved for the Milan Community Centre a vital need for the Ugandan and other Asians could be met.

All the attention the Ugandan refugees received did not however go down very well among a small section of the older settled Asian community which was critical of the help being given to Ugandan Asians. An Asian businessman said:

> *I have been here for 15 years and I feel not enough attention is given to immigrants who settled here earlier.*

But the majority of Asians interviewed (80) were very positive in their attitude towards the help given to Ugandan Asians especially the WCCR.

- *It was a marvellous eye opener to me. The help that was forthcoming from people. It showed there was some community feeling still.—Asian businessman.*

- *The WCCR and Urmela Patel workea very hard. I think that if it was not for them, the government would have washed its hands of us.—Ugandan refugee.*

- *They made life bearable. They made us feel wanted, made us feel less like outcasts. They cared for us. Without their help I just cannot see how we would have managed finally.—Ugandan refugee now working as a clerical worker.*

Youth and Police

Usually in a situation where relations between teenagers and parents are not so good, where there is a high incidence of employment and some degree of homelessness, where people believe they are discriminated against because of their colour and where there are genuinely poor social conditions, relations between black youth and the police are not the best.

There is no doubt that police-black relations reached a very low peak three years ago when **the help and arrest scheme**, that the CRO of the WCCR tried to initiate, fell flat on its face following severe criticism by the WCCR and blacks that the police were not interested in the scheme or in improving police-black relations. Critical evidence was given to the House of Commons Parliamentary Select Committee on Race Relations by the CRO who accused the police of being insensitive and blamed them for the tenuous state of police-black relations.

After the Select Committee affair a different atmosphere became obvious in the area, especially in relations between the police and the WCCR. It was also about this time that a new Commander, Jim Wilson, was appointed in the area. His attitude was completely different from his predecessor's.

He has made it possible for any black organisation in the area to approach him directly and he has insisted that a hot line be maintained between him and black community leaders in the area. He has given full support to his Community Liaison Officer (CLO), Chief Inspector Arthur Lennox. The word has gone out from his office to all police officers under his command that Lennox has his full support and that he regards the CLO's job as very important. He has also made it clear to Lennox and other police officers that he regards good police-black relations of primary importance and will not countenance any racialist behaviour from any of his officers.

Reviewing the situation to-day, it seems as if Wandsworth has not developed the near explosive relations between its black youth and its local police as, for instance, in the neighbouring borough of Lambeth. This does not mean that relations between the police and blacks are completely harmonious or have achieved close co-operation. What it does imply is that they have not reached a 'breakdown point', that they are not 'explosive' and that there is an atmosphere where dialogue is possible.

The BBC programme described in the beginning of this enquiry is a practical demonstration of this new detente. The 16 Rastafarian youths had nearly all been in trouble before with the police and did not have the best relations with them. Most had left home in acrimonious circumstances, were unemployed at least once for a lengthy time, and before they had succeeded in renting the two houses from the borough council, had been squatting and living rough. Hardly a background for understanding relations with the police.

Yet once they had organised themselves and discussed the general situation as it faced them, homelessness, unemployment and a lack of proper education, they were able to place the police in their proper perspective. As did a 17 year old:

> *Some of these coppers are bad. I have personal experience of them. But then so are some black youth. It's not them (the police) who don't want to give us jobs or homes or social security. They are just the bully boys for the system. If you 'thief' then you must expect them to do something about it. Look, if my house gets burgled or my sister assaulted them I would no doubt go and report it to them pigs. It is their job, isn't it? I was in trouble with them once. I 'thieved' from someone. Well when they got me, I deserved what I got. I was in the wrong. Another time I was wrongly accused but another copper came and said I did not do it because he had just arrested the bloke who had done it—a white bloke. So you see, they can sometimes admit mistakes.*

When they met the police community liaison officer during the BBC filming they took the above line. For about an hour they were able to have a dialogue with him, which greatly surprised some people from the BBC who had hoped to film an endless 'battle' between the police and youth, in the way that the media usually sees blacks as crises reportage.

Asked whether the relationship between the black community and the police is becoming increasingly strained, Tooting Youth Project worker, Cecil Ross, replied thus:

> *In many situations black people feel they are being discriminated against when applying for jobs and they may then get involved with the police because they make a lot of noise about it. Then you have the extremists who make a lot of emotional statements, and maybe stir up the youngsters into doing foolish things.*
> *You get a lot of black kids who are beginning to steal, make no bones about it, they are stealing, but I think it is something they will grow out of because they realise there is no future in it.*

The police held numerous seminars during the year at different stations within 'W' Divisions to which members of the Tooting Project were invited to

talk on various topics. There have been many critics on the role of these seminars, their usefulness and the wisdom of black workers attending them.

One youth leader said:

> *They are a waste of time. They only serve to bluff our people and get them to spend time talking. Nothing good comes out of them. Also they serve as an intelligence gathering place where the police pick black brains and get to know what blacks think. With that knowledge they are able to build up a strategy to combat black moves.*

Another area of dialogue has been with the Juvenile Bureau which is under the arm of the police CLO. According to the black workers at the Tooting Project, the assistance received from the offices of this bureau has been, 'a tremendous help to the project in its attempt to assist youths involved with the police. There have been numerous occasions when the Bureau have sought our assistance and the project theirs, which resulted in many youths seeing at first hand how both bodies were trying to bridge difficult obstacles'.

The Bureau also referred to the project youths whom the officers, during their course of duty, observed as being in need of some form of advice, so as to avoid them being drawn into trouble with the law.

That the police are the first public image of the established order of society is not disputed, and given the general stance of blacks about authority in fields such as housing, employment and education, this visible sign of authority as manifested in the police becomes understandable. Obviously a number of allegations against the police are true. But to what extent does the blanket allegation of police brutality against blacks cloud the real issues at hand, providing an easy avenue for protest from pseudo-revolutionary and pseudo-grass roots upholders of black 'rights' and stigmatising the black community as a 'law and order' problem with all the consequences arising therefrom.

The questionnaire which covered about 350 people (200 youth and 150 households) included some questions which reveal the following:

> *that a small number of youth interviewed (26%) had never asked the police for any help;*
>
> *that 55% of the youth interviewed found the police helpful;*
>
> *that 18% of the youth had had no problems or experience with the police;*
>
> *that a big proportion of blacks used the police stations for information, complaints etc;*
>
> *that large numbers of blacks interviewed had no real hard feelings against the police;*

that a majority saw unemployment, homelessness and general discrimination as causing them more problems than the police;

that a significant number (20%) of youths came from the Brixton area.

Statistics for a week monitored in July 1975, by the police at the three police stations used predominantly by blacks (Lavender Hill, Tooting and Balham) show that of the 1048 people who called at the police station, 39.6% of the callers were black (7.4% Asian and 32.2% West Indian).

They enquired about the following: directions, production of documents, assaults; sought advice on subjects like family disputes, civil disputes, custody of children, court procedures and rulings, solicitors letters, doctors prescriptions, passports, consumer protection, accommodation, car purchase, person locked out, desire to see police horses etc.

The police are racialists. All of them. How can they be different, they come from the same race who oppressed us for 400 years.—18 year-old clerical worker.

Look I was beaten up by the pigs. What do you expect me to say. They're bastards.—17 year-old unemployed.

I deserved being caught. We 'thieved' some stuff and somebody recognised me and I was picked up not long afterwards. They were doing their job. I'm not complaining.—17 year-old student.

Well, they are doing their job. I've had not contact with them but I think they are okay.—19-year-old worker.

Under-fives provision

Another issue which blacks in Wandsworth feel very strongly about is the question of the under-fives and provisions which are made for them. Related to this is the question of child minding and the whole problem of unregistered childminders. Recognising this, the WCCR set up its own nursery in May 1972 called the Rydevale Day Nursery off Bedford Hill. It caters for 24 children between the ages of 2½ and 5 years.

The development of the day nursery has taken place on four principles. These are that it should be run as non-institutionally as possible; that the parents should be closely involved with the nursery; that the nursery should be actively integrated with the local community, and that it should have competent and specialist advice on the children's development.

Since almost all the children at the nursery suffer from adverse environments with all the accompanying pressures on the parents that that entails, it is obviously vitally important to foster a supportive relationship with the parents. It is also very important that the parents understand what the staff do with the

children, and why, particularly with regard to the pre-school, pre-reading activities and the staff's method of disciplining the children. The staff, therefore, insist that all parents attend the nursery at least one Monday in six, when they are involved in the day's activities, and where they have an opportunity of seeing a medical officer of health who regularly examines the children.

In May 1974 the borough council financially supported the appointment of a community worker attached to the nursery, whose primary function was to increase the involvement of the parents in the nursery and to strengthen the nursery's links with the community. The worker is also expected to maintain an interest in the general pre-school provision in Balham.

What has emerged since the setting up of the nursery is the great demand for nursery places by black mothers. Charles Boxer commented:

> *We are not even scratching the surface. All we are doing is to pinpoint the problem, set up a model and act as a pressure group together with the community at large, to force the local authority and government to take up our model and multiply it a thousand times.*
> *For the nursery to succeed and for our workers to get a true picture of the feelings and needs of parents, it is essential that we strengthen the nursery's links with the community. This involves a lot of community work.*
> *The nursery has been successful in involving the local community in its activities with volunteers, helping during the day, and local community groups using the building in the evenings.*

The success of this aspect of the nursery's development led to the appointment of one of the nursery workers as community worker to the nursery. Her job, among others, is to strengthen the links between the nursery and its neighbourhood and build up the WCCR's services to the wider community in Balham; to develop and foster contacts with statutory and voluntary bodies working in Balham and all the other bodies concerned with the needs of the community, as well as with the various black groups and other local people in the area.

It is this involvement in wide ranging community work which led the WCCR to launch into a totally new venture this year with its multi-racial comic to be used in schools and youth clubs for discussions on personal relationships.

The comic, 'Don't Rush Me', takes the form of a typical romantic magazine story and it give accurate information about birth control and attempts to dispel many of the old wives tales like, 'you won't get pregnant first time'. It has sold more than 40,000 since it appeared in March this year and has been distributed world wide. It has received a lot of good publicity, but it has also been severely criticised by some blacks as 'useless and racist because it is based on black stereotypes'. Another criticism has been that it has not involved the parents.

Asked **what they thought about the publication?** 67% of those interviewed (120) said it was well done and that it could do good, 10% thought it was racialistic, 80% thought more comics on the same lines should be done, 82% praised the WCCR for doing it. The majority of those who thought it was racialistic mentioned as a reason the fact that they believed that no blacks were involved in its preparation. The rest (31%) believed that it fell in line with what they felt was Charles Boxer's 'racialism and contempt for black folk'.

Attitude to CRO & WCCR

When asked specifically **whether they knew about the WCCR,** 67% of black respondents in Wandsworth replied that they **had** heard of the council although only 30% knew Charles Boxer. Asked **how they knew about the WCCR,** the majority answered that they got to know the WCCR either through the Tooting Project, the Lavender Hill Neighbourhood Centre or the community workers in the field. The majority (69%) of those interviewed who had heard of the WCCR believed it was effective.

- *Boxer is a racialist. He does not give his black staff an opportunity to develop and take responsibility.—West Indian community leader.*
- *Boxer has built the WCCR into an effective organisation. He has the support of his staff, because he shares power with them. Many of the projects are virtualy autonomous. He involves all of them.—WCCR council member.*
- *Some blacks criticise him because he is white. But that man is fair and is a good doer. He does more for blacks in the area than those so called black leaders in the area.—black youth worker.*

  The WCCR is only a talking shop for talkative blacks. A place for blacks to forget the realities of life.—West Indian trade unionist.
- *Race relations are better in this borough because of the work of the WCCR and its people. They are constantly reminding the public and those in authority through action and the press what is wrong and why it is wrong. It is wrong to say it is a white organisation when you have people like Cecil Ross, Lionel Davis and Eric Smellie there. They are no Uncle Toms.—trade unionist.*

Some of the factors which affect the way blacks in Wandsworth define their situation in this country have so far been indicated in earlier parts of this enquiry. Also what has emerged up to now are the parallel attitudes and activities—embracing the factors mentioned above—of the WCCR and how these activities and ideas are in line with or divergent from actual black viewpoints and demands.

Why blacks came and how they see their future

To place all these constituent factors and how they effect black life-styles in the borough, the following questions arose:

Why did blacks come to Wandsworth?

What were their expectations? and

How did they see their future in Wandsworth and their place within British society?

In the following interviews a very clear picture emerges in answer to these questions.

In answer to the two questions, **Why did you leave your home country?** and **Why did you come to Britain/Wandsworth?** respondents gave the following reasons.

I came here to make money.—West Indian worker

My family had financial disaster. I came here to make money and help them out.—Pakistani shopkeeper.

I saw an ad in the Jamaican Gleaner—bus driver.

I wanted to study further and get a good English degree.—Indian teacher.

I wanted to be a lawyer—a good barrister.—Pakistani worker.

In addition to the **economic** and **educational** reasons, others suggested that they had left because they wanted to **travel** and see another part of the world.

I wanted to know other countries.—West Indian worker.

For experience.—Indian accountant.

When asked why they came to Britain/Wandsworth, 52.4% of the West Indians compared to 27.6% of Asians said it was because Britain was the only country available to them. Many said they would have gone to America, but the McCarran Walters Act militated against them. 18% said they were directly or indirectly recruited, 21% because they had friends or family here, 10% of Asians came because they wanted to come.

My relatives, brothers and cousins were already here.—Indian student.

To learn about the Western way of life.—Pakistani student.

I wanted to go to the States, but because of the sponsor scheme could not go. I came here instead.—West Indian male nurse.

Despite their reasons for coming to Britain and Wandsworth, many blacks did not intend to settle here when they first came. The majority still speak as if they are about to leave Wandsworth and return to their countries of origin. They see immigration as a temporary phase. When asked, **When you first came to Britain/Wandsworth did you intend to stay permanently?** about 16% said yes.

However, having been here for some time, the majority have changed their minds. Although a substantial number still hold on to the belief that they are only here 'temporarily', no matter how long a time temporary means. What is clear is that stated intentions to return should not be treated at face value. Figures show that the majority would remain and going back was an aspiration for the indefinite future rather than something tangible, which required saving and careful planning, uprooting of families etc.

But it is this **intention** to return in the indefinite future which has influenced a lot of thinking among blacks vis-a-vis their involvement in what is happening in this country, in Wandsworth itself. Their attitude is fundamentally that of a 'passer through'. 'Why bother to participate in local community affairs when we will be returning home soon?', is a typical answer to why they do not participate locally. This is manifested in the prevalance of island, parochial, welfare and social type organisations and their inability to participate **fully** in the life of their new country of adoption.

Asians see Britain more as an alien society and very few wish to be 'assimilated', West Indians on the other hand identify themselves more with the British system. Many in their own way felt 'British' before they came to this country, but not strongly enough to feel more British than West Indian.

> *I am West Indian—Jamaican—born there and proud of it.—64 year-old Jamaican.*

> *How can I be British? I am Pakistani with my own culture and values.—Pakistani factory worker.*

So that when black participation in British life,—cultural, economic and political—is looked into, attitudes of identity with Britain as a home country should be borne in mind.

How finally do blacks see their future in Wandsworth and their place within British society?

As shown earlier, many older blacks came to this country more for negative than positive reasons. Not only would most not have left their countries of origin had conditions not been so difficult for them, but quite a few, especially West Indians, would have settled elsewhere, had it been possible. Most came not to settle but to make a quick pound and return in glory. Circumstances militated against them. The reality of life in Britain made it difficult for them to return.

Among younger blacks there is a deepening conflict of identity because of the

cultural assimilation taking place around them and rubbing off on them whether they like it or not.

How does this all reflect their ideas about the future, about race relations in Wandsworth and how do they think things could be improved?

The following extracts of quotations give an idea of their feelings:

- *I can't return to Uganda, so I've got to settle here. We now have a small shop and are doing quite well.—Ugandan shopkeeper.*
- *What we need is more youth clubs, more nurseries, generally more facilities.—West Indian mother.*
- *More chances for blacks and less discrimination.—West Indian youth.*
- *We are only tolerated here. One day they'll kick us out.—West Indian bus driver.*
- *I am going to study further and improve my education. With education you can go far.—West Indian youth.*
- *Race relations—that's all rubbish. What we want is for the white man to treat us as human beings that's all.—West Indian youth.*

From the replies and the questionnaire, it is interesting to note that older blacks are less future orientated and more pessimistic, whereas younger blacks are more optimistic, anticipating a better future by finding better jobs and looking forward to promotion possibilities.

Section Three: Brent

'For its motto the authority has chosen the two words "Forward Together", an augury of the closer association not merely of the two former boroughs but of the spirit of co-operation it wishes to see fostered between the people and the Council'—from the London Borough of Brent Official Guide.

The Setting

The London Borough of Brent was formed in April 1965, following the 1963 London Governments Acts which merged the two Boroughs of Willesden and Wembley. Both were then county districts of the Middlesex County Council which controlled their health, welfare and education services besides exercising considerable authority over planning.

The merger made the new borough one of the largest and most important of the London Boroughs in respect of population, acreage (10,934 acres), and rateable value.

Faced with the dilemma of calling itself Willesden and Wembley or Wembley and Willesden, it finally chose to take the name of the river Brent which had from time immemorial formed a natural division between them. It was hoped that it would also provide a natural basis for a merger.

To the East, the long line of the ancient Watling Street (Kilburn High Road) divides the borough, with a population of 280,655, from Camden and Barnet. Whilst on the South a less easily defined boundary separates Brent from the Boroughs of Ealing, Hammersmith, Kensington and Chelsea and the City of Westminster. To the West lies the rest of the Borough of Ealing; and to the North is Harrow.

Although the borough is now one, the history of Brent, even at a glimpse, can only be told—like nearly everything else in the borough—as the separate history of Willesden and Wembley.

The first named record of Wembley, then shown as Wemba Lea, is in a Charter of King Beornwolf in AD 825, now in the British Museum. Although Wembley is not mentioned in the Domesday Book, it was at that time included in the manor of Harrow and a pattern of village life which survived throughout all the medieval age was establish in Wembley and the surrounding countryside.

The coming of the railways in the first half of the 19th century contributed to the growth of the district, but progress was leisurely. 1924 brought the British

Empire Exhibition, the Stadium and worldwide fame to Wembley. It changed the character of the district and, together with post World War I industrial development, set in motion the suburban development much as we know it today. Then in 1934 the old Urban Districts of Wembley (created in 1894) and Kingsbury (taken out of Wembley in 1900) were reunited. Borough status followed in 1937.

Characterised by the fact that 61.8% of the population was employed in non-manual occupations, Wembley was a safe Conservative local authority as the Tories had controlled the council and had elected the area's two MP's since just after World War II.

All in all, Wembley was a pleasant middle class suburb for professionals and businessmen working in central London.

The first reference to 'Wellesdune' is found in a charter of AD 939, in which the grandson of Alfred the Great granted the manors of Neasden-cum-Willesden to the monks of St Paul's Cathedral. The district was included in the Domesday Survey of 1086 under two heads, Wellesdone (Willesden) and Herulverstune (Harlesden). The boundaries of Willesden Borough, right up to 1965, were substantially those of the old parish—namely the line of Old Watling Street (Kilburn High Road) on the East, the river Brent on the North and West and the line of Harrow Road to the South.

Willesden remained a pleasant village, unspoilt despite its proximity to London, until the railway development of the 19th century. The coming of the railways, particularly the extensions of the Metropolitan Railway to Harrow, opened up the development of Willesden as a residential area.

As Willesden entered the 1950s, it was a locality that had examples of every major problem that could be associated with swift but unplanned urbanisation and industrialisation.

The industrial development of Willesden had no concern about residential zoning and providing social amenities in the area. This was characterised by people living in substandard housing, inadequate roads and outdated schools. There was a wide degree of recognition that Willesden was no longer a pleasant suburb, but part of the drab and depressing urban sprawl.

Yet this did not prevent Willesden from serving as a traditional receiving area for immigrants because of its employment opportunities. Welsh and Scots migrated to the area during the depression and after World War II, Jewish refugees and Irish immigrants flocked to the area looking for jobs and new opportunities. Then in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s and 1960s immigrants from India and Pakistan and the West Indies arrived.

Politically Willesden was divided into two parliamentary constituencies, both held by Labour. Just as Wembley was similarly divided into two constituencies, both controlled by the Tories.[8]

Such was the situation in the two county districts of Willesden and Wembley.

The merger meant that the Metropolitan Borough of Brent, (specifically, the Willesden area with a black population of 17% (Brent South 18.6%, Brent East 15.4%)) with a population of 280,655 had, according to the 1971 Census, a population of 39,180 blacks, the highest in any London Metropolitan Borough.

Why they came

Why then did blacks move into Brent, given the fact that the areas they usually move in are not pleasant residential areas to live in, and which in the words of a local government historian was, 'a new suburban sprawl lacking the necessity of a good community life . . . with some of the worst features of Metropolitan drabness, relieved only with some islands of semi-suburban houses'.

The major factor according to interviews and the written questionnaires of 370 people in Brent was the positive incentive of the post World War II economic prosperity in Britain which resulted in an urgent demand for semi-skilled and unskilled workers. (The 370 people interviewed consisted of 200 youth—60 of them who were still at school or had just left. The rest 140, were young people between the ages of 17 and 21.—170 were households or elderly blacks who met at betting shops, shops etc.)

As local whites moved up the job and salary scale, a void occurred in the lower paid and lower status job scene. West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis then moved into these jobs, just as the Irish, Jews, Poles and Cypriots had previously done.

In a study carried out by Nicholas Deaken and Brian Cohen, (Special Tabulations of the 1966 10% Sample Census for the Greater London Council Research and Intelligence Unit—Deaken and Cohen, Joint Unit for Minority and Policy Research.) it was shown that 179,697 people lived in Willesden in 1951, while in 1966, despite the influx of over 16,000 black immigrants, the population had declined to 161,120.

A glance at the following tables show the breakdown of the population in the Willesden part of Brent, and in England and Wales, by birthplace for 1961 and 1966. While the British born population in the area declined by over 20,000 during this 5 year period, this drop was halved by the influx of 5,000 black immigrants. Their search for jobs, mainly through recruitment by London Transport and hospital authorities, and housing had brought them into an area where the white population had been leaving, but where employment opportunities still existed.

Of the West Indians interviewed it is obvious that only a small number had the necessary educational qualifications or occupational skills to be assured a secure income in the West Indies. A majority interviewed were from rural areas, and although many of them put their last address in the West Indies as Kingston, Georgetown or Bridgetown, it was obvious they had already joined the growing exodus to the urban areas before coming here. Of the Asians

1961

Birthplace	*Willesden %*		*England and Wales %*
Great Britain	132,322	77.4%	95.1%
Irish Republic	15,884	9.3%	1.4%
India & Pakistan	1,561	0.9%	0.2%
West Indies	8,901	5.2%	0.4%
Other Countries	12,327	7.2%	2.9%
	171,001	100%	100% (46,104,548)

1966

Birthplace	*Willesden %*		*England & Wales*
Great Britain	111,340	69.1%	94.1%
Irish Republic	19,760	12.3%	1.4%
India & Pakistan	3,350	2.1%	0.5%
West Indies	12,990	8.0%	0.6%
Other Countries	13,780	8.5%	3.4%
	161,120	100%	100% (47,135,510)

(Pakistanis and Indians) and Africans interviewed, economic as well as opportunities for educational advancement were the two main reasons.

Extracts from interviews give a clear idea of the motives.

Economic

A majority of interviewees cited clear economic motives in reply to the first question.

- *I came away from Trinidad to earn some cash.—West Indian bus driver*
- *Well for a job. It was difficult to get one which paid decently, so I wanted to try a new country.—Jamaican fitter*
- *I was unemployed in Pakistan.*

- *I saw an advert in the 'Gleaner' for the buses. So I came.—bus driver*
- *I was recruited really.—Barbadon nurse*

Education

Among Asians and Africans opportunities for furthering their education was placed high.

- *Although I had a degree from Bombay, I wanted to study further and get better qualifications. British universities are famous throughout the world.—Pakistani teacher*
- *I came over to study essentially. I had high hopes. Although I enrolled, there was no money. So I finally gave up the idea. I regret it now.—African foundry worker.*
- *I wanted to be a nurse. That's why I came—West Indian nurse.*

Travel

In addition to the economic and educational reasons, an average of about 11% gave reasons which suggested that they had left because they wanted to travel and see another part of the world.

- *I wanted to travel.—Indian accountant*
- *It was for adventure. I regret it now. Things are more difficult than I expected.—West Indian booking clerk.*
- *Everybody was coming to Britain. I thought why not me.—West Indian housewife.*

When asked why they came to Britain/Brent, 47.5% of the West Indians compared to 21.4% of Asians and 36.5% of Africans, said it was because Britain was the only country available to them. Many would have gone to America, but the McCarran Walters Act militated against them. 16% said they were directly or indirectly recruited and 32% because they had friends or family here. 19% of Asians and 23.4% of the Africans came because they wanted to come and 25% of the Africans because they believed opportunities were best in this country. Among Asians, 51% said they came because they had families here, whereas only 3.8% of the West Indians believed opportunities were best here.

- *Britain was my mother country. I used to know a lot about this country, could speak the language and admired the British.—West Indian bus conductor.*
- *At that time I wanted to go to America, but a friend who was going to*

sponsor me decided his nephew was more important, so I came here instead it was easier.—Barbadian barber.

- *My uncle and a few friends were here.—Indian worker.*
- *Do you know that there were big posters saying come to London and praising London Transport? They needed drivers, mechanics, offered good wages etc. Well that was good enough for me.—West Indian borough worker.*

Settlement Intentions

Despite their reasons for coming to Britain and Brent, many blacks did not intend to settle here when they first came. The majority still speak as if they are about to leave Brent and return to their countries of origin. They see migration as a temporary phase. When asked: **When you first came to Britain did you intend to stay permanently?** about 14% said 'yes'.

However, having been here for some time, the majority changed their minds. Although a substantial number still held on to the belief that they were here only 'temporarily', no matter how long a time temporary meant. What is clear is that stated intentions to return should not be treated at face value. Figures show that the majority would remain and going back was an aspiration for the indefinite future rather than something tangible which required saving and careful planning, uprooting of families etc.

But it is this **intention** to return in the indefinite future which has influenced a lot of thinking among blacks vis-a-vis their involvement in what is happening in this country, in Brent itself. Their attitude is fundamentally that of a 'sojourner', that of someone passing through. 'Why bother to participate in local community affairs when we will be returning home soon?' is a typical answer to why they do not participate locally.

This partly explains the intense involvement in island or motherland politics.

Another point is the fact that very few have the financial capability of returning home. Few wish to return home virtually empty handed,—this would be an open admission of defeat. Many know of the difficulties way back home, and have rather considered the possibility of returning for a holiday and not permanently.

A further reason is the considerable financial involvement most blacks have with their country of origin. Nearly 85% among the West Indians interviewed were sending financial support to members of their families in the West Indies and about 76% Pakistanis and Indians said they were completely or partly responsible for the support of relatives in their country of origin.

However, the fact remains that a big number still 'intend' to go home. What consequences other than that of maintaining ties at home (the sending of money etc.), does this have on their behaviour in Brent?

As already stated, one is their attitude towards an accommodation with life in the Borough, and another, their willingness to accept unsatisfactory conditions in this country.

There is no doubt that if an immigrant anticipates returning home, he is unlikely to make a serious effort to absorb himself into the way of life of the country in which he now lives. This does not mean that he will not adjust his life style to fit in and make a living or make things easier within certain limits.

But give and take is different from fully participating and thinking of himself as part and parcel of his newly adopted country. A black with a 'sojourner', as opposed to a 'settler' ideology, is more inclined to remain an outsider in both thought and action.

Asians see Britain more as an alien society and very few wish to be 'assimilated'; West Indians on the other hand identify themselves more with the British system. Many in their own way felt 'British' before they migrated to this country, but not strongly enough to feel more British than West Indian.

- *I am Jamaican, born and bred.—60-year-old West Indian caretaker.*
- *I thought of myself as British before I left Grenada, but now that I am here I find that we are not accepted because we are black. You can't be black and British, you know.—West Indian nurse.*
- *No never. I am Pakistani and will remain so. A leopard never changes its spots you know.—Pakistani worker.*

Some of the replies naturally reflect the disillusionment many blacks experienced on their arrival in Britain and it is here where West Indians have more in common with Asians.

So that when black participation in British life—cultural, economic and political—is looked into, attitudes of identity with Britain as a home country should be borne in mind.

Black participation in local affairs in Brent is generally minimal, although this is slowly changing.

Surveys carried out during local borough and parliamentary elections indicate a fair to high proportion of blacks making use of their votes. At the moment, however, there are only two black councillors, both labour (Mr S.D. Long and K. Hussain councillors for Roundwood and Mapesbury wards).

Since participation by white as well as black residents in local politics and local party organisations is in any case very low, the leaders of the two parties generally control political power and determine the policies that affect life in Brent.

While there are differences in policies and attitudes between the local Tories and Labour leadership concerning race relations in Brent, the black citizens in Brent politics have had no real relationship and little influence on local politics

and policies. With the Conservatives using the black residents as scapegoats for the problems of housing and education in the locality, and the Labour leadership, while supporting he grievances of the black residents when they coincided with the interests of the working class, being reluctant to respond to the specific problems of the black population, the possibility of the black citizens achieving substantial political representation and power through the established political parties is still remote.

Although the majority vote Labour, the reasons for their support for the Labour Party are quite interesting.

- *The Tories stand for the rich. Labour for the working class. I am not rich.—West Indian welder.*
- *Well they're both white people's parties. But the one is better than the other, a lesser of two evils.—youth worker.*
- *Who else can we vote for? I mean who has the power? It is no good voting for fringe parties, they have no power.—West Indian teacher.*
- *Labour is the lesser of two evils. At one time I would have encouraged and voted for a black organisation if it fought the local elections. But not now. It would be a waste of time, as such an organisation does not stand a chance.—Pakistani teacher.*

There is a low level of interest in **British** politics generally, but not in other political matters. Interest in or knowledge of politics in their countries of origin was high, underlying the earlier assumptions of the 'outsider' phenomenon, and not a lack of political consciousness, which is a determinant in the low level involvement of blacks in British politics.

To what extent then are existing black organisations representative of black opinion in Brent?

There are various black organisations in Brent, some political, others social. These include the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD), the Brent Indian Association, the Jamaican Labour Party, the West Indian National Association, the Eastern Friends League, the Pakistan Welfare Association, the Caribbean Improvement Association, the Caribbean United People's Social Club, and the Credit Union. Most of them are, since 1970, affiliates to the Brent Community Relations Council.

CARD

One of the most controversial CARD (Brent Branch) was among several branches of the organisation formed in 1965. The original CARD was the brainchild of Dr David Pitt.

In 1967 several branches were closed for various reasons, such as shortage of funds and the setting up of the Community Relations Commission, then the NCCI, which people anticipated would take the place of CARD. Brent CARD survived largely due to the single minded determination of Guy Ellison, one of the best known (or notorious as far as some people are concerned) blacks in the area who became its chairman. It claims to have a paid up membership of about 100 to 200 and about the same number of supporters. Here it would be interesting to note that it is extremely difficult to get exact figures from black organisations.

According to Ellison, his organisation has dealt with problems such as employment, education, housing, police, social security and homelessness, numbering in the region of 500 to 700 cases in a year, although this number is challenged by critics of CARD.

There is no doubt that Ellison is a controversial figure in Brent, and his critics have accused him of, among other things, political aggrandisement. He has openly criticised the Brent Community Relations Council and has in return been attacked by them. Similarly, there is no love lost between the Borough Council and Ellison, who has also had his brushes with the Labour Party hierarchy in Brent, so much so that in October 1974 he threatened to marshal blacks in the area against the Labour Party, although he had been considered for a council ward during that time. The issue at hand was the turning down of a CARD application for urban aid by the Labour controlled Brent Borough Council.

In a letter to Councillor Len Snow, then chairman of the education committee, Ellison said:

> *We may tell you by your very negative decision you are going to antagonise a substantial part of our community which will remember this act—this petty and childish act.*

CARD, Ellison claimed, had 'scrupulously' refrained from a political approach to its work because it primarily considered itself a welfare organisation. (This is not entirely true. CARD was regarded as 'political' in its broadest sense by both blacks and whites in the area).

Ellison continued:

> *But now thanks to your lack of imagination our members and officers have been driven to a political stand. Such decisions as yours spring from a perverse lack of sympathy for the plight of black people and we now reject totally the approach that we must co-operate and work with people like yourselves in the hope that a few crumbs will reach our table. Clearly there is no point of contact between you and ourselves.*

The Brent Borough's subcommittee on the urban aid programme met on September 23, 1974, when Councillor Ivor Davies was chairman. The committee considered a request from CARD for a grant to meet part of the cost of their office expenses, after allowing for a similar contribution from the Community Relations Commission and a further grant from the Borough Council for the appointment of a full-time and part-time worker and other expenses.

Commenting in the Brent and Willesden Chronicle, Councillor Davies gave reasons for refusing CARD's request:

> *We were of the opinion that there could well be a duplication of activity by this organisation and by the Brent Community Relations Council and we felt unable to support this application for urban aid or for a grant from the General Rate Fund.*

Councillor Snow, chairman of the education committee and an influential figure in the Brent Labour Party, added to this statement by saying that the sub-committee felt as CARD was asking for money towards a community centre, work that was already being done by the Learie Constantine Centre in Dudden Hill Lane, it would be too much of a duplication of effort.

Some people saw this as an attempt to divide the black community and get CARD to fight the Brent Community Relations Council. Any such hopes could only be regarded as a damp squib and instead had the opposite effect, for it resulted in one of those rare instances when the CRO of Brent Community Relations Council, Phil Sealy, publicly came to the support of Ellison and CARD, and condemned the reasoning behind the refusal which tried to link Council support for the BCRC (the BCRC run the Learie Constantine Centre) with the Council's refusal to grant CARD aid.

Whatever criticism there is of CARD or Ellison, there is no doubting the fact that it does do a lot of grassroots work among blacks in the area, although its influence is disproportionately bigger than its actual membership and its insecure financial position.

Although the Borough Council has continuously refused to help CARD financially, its various departments do not hesitate to make use of its expertise. In an unscheduled mid-morning visit to its new offices at Station Road, Harlesden (which is also Ellison's business offices), where it is constantly running into financial difficulties, the author witnessed over 10 complainants (2 whites) coming to CARD for help after being referred to it by one or other of the Borough's departments who could not themselves help the complainants.

BCRC

CARD is one of the organisations affiliated to the Brent Community Relations Council. Unlike CARD, the BCRC is the only statutory or

quasi-statutory body in Brent supported out of public monies which is charged with the improvement of race and community relations.

The BCRC was the follow up of the Willesden International Friendship Council and Brent Friendship Society, a voluntary body established when the Boroughs of Willesden and Wembley became the London Borough of Brent in 1965. The WBFS itself was preceded by the Willesden International Friendship Council founded in 1959, which had the Labour MP Reg Freeson as its chairman until March 1963. Although the WIFC, its successor the WBFC and the BCRC tried to maintain themselves as organisations which were, 'non-partisan, non-sectarian', and which 'should be above politics'[9], there is no doubt that the close links these bodies had with Labour groups (more on an elite basis than because of any vote they could help to deliver) had and still have its inherent dangers and drawbacks, such closeness to a political party may have been of tremendous value at the outset.

One such drawback, of course, has been the extreme suspicion these bodies have been and still are being subjected to by the Conservatives when out of power and more so when in power.[10]

One person who has dominated the Brent Community Relations Council has been its CRO, Phil Sealy, appointed in mid-1968. He, like Guy Ellison, is a very controversial figure in Brent.

Sealy sees the **political attitude** in his job as CRO as important. Community Relations Councils can ill afford to get involved in the political power game. However, the control of policy-making in large British local authorities, like Brent, is so much a matter of party politics that it is hard to achieve anything by remaining outside politics. Sealy sums up the attitude of the political parties vis-a-vis community and race relations as follows:

> *I do not think Conservatives in Brent have a clear understanding of what community relations is all about, although the Labour Party is more desirous of helping. But even this desire to help is more out of political expediency.*

Although the relationship with the Borough Council has been a workable one, Sealy does not feel that it is an extremely positive one. In so far as the Borough Council's financial support to the BCRC has grown over 7 years from £1,360 to £20,000 today, the relationship has been and still is a highly unequal one, with the Brent Borough Council holding almost all the cards, although Sealy would dispute this.

Accounting for the fairly good BCRC-Labour Party relationship and the very tenuous BCRC-Brent Borough Council relationship, in spite of the fact that Labour controls the Brent Borough Council, a black youth worker said:

> *The Brent Borough Council and its top officials are essentially a middle-class conservative group with fairly conservative concepts of what*

community relations on the whole are about. Being a marginal constituency with the possibility of the minority party being a majority one at the next elections, the Brent Borough Council administrators are a cautious lot who are not prepared to stick out their necks if it means a chopping operation, come the next elections.

Classwise these administrators are more compatible with the Tory councillors and it is easier for them to take orders from a Tory controlled council than from a Labour dominated council where a particular committee chairman might turn out to be an ordinary bus driver or of some other working-class category. That is one thing they cannot stomach, hence their fairly reactionary attitude to quite a few things in the borough, including the BCRC and, of course, blacks.

The attempt, as some saw it, by the Borough Council to play the BCRC off against CARD is one such example, another, is its attitude towards urban aid. In a circular of December 6, 1973, the Government announced its intention to make available the additional sum of £6 million for the funding of special projects, being found from funds which would have been available to the overseas aid programme corresponding to the amount which would probably have been provided as capital aid for Uganda if circumstances there had been different.

Paragraph (3) states in its first sentence, 'It is intended that grants under this Circular should be **used exclusively** to help local authority areas where the social, educational and related services are **particularly under strain** because of the **high concentration of immigrants** especially those areas in which severe problems are being met in **absorbing Asians** from East Africa.'

And Paragraph (5) states that 'local authorities may find it **useful to consult** community relations councils for their area about the **projects likely to be useful'.**

Also in an earlier Home Office Circular (15/1967 and 169/1970): 'Local Authority may also find it useful to **consult local community relations councils** when considering the appointment of officers who will be working close by/with the immigrant community.'

Brent applied for Urban Aid under Phase 12. As an authority it was more successful with its application under Phase 12 (commonly called Amin money) than the neighbouring Boroughs of Camden, Ealing and Westminster. Its Education Department, which is not the most sympathetic and understanding to black educational needs in the borough, got grants worth £169,650 for cultural liaison teachers, peripatetic teachers, in-service course for teachers and adaptations to the Carlton Vale school.

At no time did it find it useful to consult the BCRC, and it went so far as to exclude, by not inviting, any person from the black community to a meeting of a

special Ad Hoc Committee called early in 1975 to discuss the adaptation to the Carlton Vale school. This in spite of the fact that the whole scheme intimately concerns the black community.

In a forthright Discussion Paper[11] prepared for the BCRC, Sealy suggested that:

> *It is therefore incumbent upon Brent Community Relations Council not merely to monitor the use to which these monies are applied, but to seek to learn from the local Education Authority what consultation they intend to hold with BCRC in respect of terms of reference, job descriptions, relevant qualifications and experience etc. for the appointment of persons described under cultural liaison teachers, peripatetic teachers and the nature and course content of in-service course for teachers.*

To date the Borough Council has not consulted with the BCRC on this matter.

This must be seen against the background of a meeting between the Town Clerk, Mr K.B. Betts, the leader of the Council, Labour Alderman Hartley, and Sealy on the 3rd July 1974. Sealy had raised various points dealing specifically with co-operation between the BCRC and the local authority, such as regular meetings with sub-committees, direct access to chief officers to discuss matters of mutual concern and the relevant one in this matter, that 'the BCRC was to be officially associated with the local authority's representations to Central Government/National Bodies on matters affecting community relations, including such issues as the relief of social deprivation and acute needs, the Urban Aid programme, and the resettlement of British Asians from Uganda'.

The Town Clerk replied in writing in the affirmative to all requests and to the last one said that, 'this will be arranged in appropriate cases'. From this some concluded that the Brent Local Authority was prepared to make extravagant promises of close co-operation with the BCRC and black organisations.

Sealy's subsequent anger with the Local Authority when it failed to consult with the BCRC on the Urban Aid, circular 12, matter, becomes therefore understandable.

However, it does not alter the fact that Sealy's and the BCRC's expectations of close co-operation with the Local Authority were founded on slippery sandbanks. Having decided to adopt the political medium in his community relations work vis-a-vis his relationship with the local authorities it was somewhat naive for Sealy, and through him the BCRC, to expect an authority like Brent to forego or share its control over matters affecting the life style of a section of the population which could well cause it to lose votes in any election, or bring it into opposition with political groups with which it finds itself more in tune than with blacks.

'Sealy wants to play the political game, but hasn't got the necessary back up.' a black youth leader in Harlesden said:

> *He has not really understood and grasped the politics of inequality. The Brent Borough Council will compromise on matters which do not really affect their control—like making available minutes of council committee meetings—but when it comes down to bigger things which not only involve money but projects which could take responsibility—a responsibility they only want to keep for negative reasons—out of their hands, then they will never budge.*
>
> *They see the BCRC as a necessary nuisance, a body that will do their awkward and dirty work for them on their (the Borough Council's) terms. They are masters at this type of politics and they also have the necessary power. The BCRC and Sealy do not have mass support—either black or white—or the back up powers. Whatever threats they and he make will not stir the Borough Council fundamentally, because the Borough Council know they do not have the necessary support and also know that in spite of their opposition, Sealy and the BCRC is dependent on them for money, facilities and, finally, good will.*
>
> *Unaided by any powerful bodies, the Brent CRC is not really able to make any significant impact on local authority policy in the area. That is the hub of Sealy's problems and the weakness of his 'political' strategy.*

One of the criticisms voiced against Sealy by blacks in the area is that he has failed to widen the black support of the BCRC and has kept control of things essentially in his hands.

- *Phil is a good manoeuvrer and grasps things quickly. There is no doubt that he has done a lot in Brent. What he has failed to do is to build solid black support for the BCRC.—West Indian nurse.*
- *He is involved in every activity in the area and is on nearly every committee. He has not delegated jobs to other blacks, as if he is afraid that things will get out of his control.—black youth worker.*
- *Sealy knows how to handle the local council, but he does not know how to share responsibilities. Sometimes I think he is afraid that he will not be in charge. He wants power and accumulates more. It is not good because it means that some jobs will have to suffer because he just cannot be everywhere all the time.—Jamaican car joiner.*

Some criticism of Sealy has a basis others not. Blame here should also be put on the BCRC. There is no doubt that since its inception up to late 1975, the BCRC was heavily dependent upon the Principal Community Relations Officer, Phil Sealy, and questioned few of his activities. Late 1975, the BCRC Executive

Committee finally drew up guidelines for the PCRO which were subsequently endorsed by the General Committee of the BCRC.

A CRO becomes only culpable in so far as his Executive Committee allows him to become and the amount of power and influence (whether good or bad) the CRO exerts depends essentially on his relationship with his Executive Committee.

As far as Sealy is concerned there is no doubt that he is physically involved in most community projects in the area. In part this is because of the small staff at the BCRC and therefore it has had its human toll, naturally. He has not been able regularly to attend meetings or take a close interest in all the projects of which he is a prominent member or adviser, with the result that many of these projects have come to near failure. Apart from being Principal CRO, he is also a JP (which means he has to spend time in court) is Chairman of the Community Relations Group of ASTMS[12] (involving some business outside Brent) and sits on the Community Relations Commission's Self Help Panel which involves travel inter alia outside London. One of the complaints has been that he has too many other activities going which makes him less available to people in Brent.

When confronted by these criticisms Sealy replies that there are few blacks who have come forward to offer their services to the BCRC, and in any case it was impossible to delegate when there was no one available and when work had to be done.

Over the past five years he said he had been more involved in formulating the structure of the BCRC and establishing contact with borough authorities than in really getting down to developing black support. Now that the structure of the BCRC had been set in motion and a working relationship with the local authority worked out he hoped to concentrate on getting down to winning more black support.

There is no doubt that the one factor which has had a restricting effect on the BCRC's and the CRO's activities so far has been the lack of staff. A major breakthrough this year has been the effort to obtain a realistic professional staff establishment which in fact has meant four additional workers to function as a community worker, an education co-ordinator, warden community development worker for the Learie Constantine Centre (run by the BCRC) and an employment liaison officer.

In spite of the lack of staff over the past years, Sealy has been able to initiate and in many instances develop various projects in the area like the Saturday School (which has since been closed) the Learie Constantine Centre, the Bertie Road Childminding Project and the introduction of black studies in some schools. He has also been in the forefront in persuading the borough Education Department to appoint black governors and managers in the local schools.

One of the areas in which there are constant problems, not only in Brent but in other localities, is the suggestion of the CROs that all approaches to the

Community Relations Commission by other community bodies in their areas for grant aid should go in the first instance through CROs for their comment.

This presumption of arrogating to themselves the function of arbiter as to whether a local organisation is good enough to receive Community Relations Commission grant aid was founded on the assumption that local Community Relations Councils would be:

- *truly representative of the community as a whole, and*
- *that harmonious relations would exist between, say, the black community organisations and the Community Relations Council and the CRO, and that therefore the CRO would be in a good position to act for the community as a whole.*

Over the years this assumption has in many instances been stretched to include the belief (by the CROs) that they are also the exclusive spokesman for what is really going on within the black community.

This naturally has resulted in a running battle between black groups and the CRO where the former have challenged this dangerous presumption.

There is of course a case for CROs to be informed about such approaches, but as to whether the CROs should be in a position effectively to object to such aid being given because they feel inter alia that the applying organisation is not a representative black organisation is another question, precisely because of the involved positions of the CROs.

'What should happen,' remarked a well-known black community leader in Harlesden, 'is that the Community Relations Commission should be the body which should through its field officers probe any organisations approaching it for aid and themselves decide the credentials of such bodies. The CRO is too involved and cannot always be expected to be unbiased. The final job of the CRO should be to work himself out of a job and not try and assume leadership of the black community.'

The attitude of the Local Authority towards the BCRC has all along been one, as explained earlier, of tolerance. It has, however, coupled this attitude with the argument that Brent was dealing marvellously with race and community relations, and was contributing adequately, financially and otherwise, to the well-being of its black community.

- *We have quite a good record in race relations. Seriously there is no difference in treatment of coloured people by the borough councillors. Anyone who seriously suggests otherwise does not know the facts and is only trying to stir up conflict between various groups.—an officer of the local authority.*
- *Of course we have our problems—no more than other boroughs. In fact less. We've never had any race riots. Our immigrant community is law*

abiding and just get on with their lives. We have a good history of tolerance, taking into account the problems newcomers generally bring with them when they come to a new area.—local councillor.

The majority of black people interviewed in Brent, however, have other ideas about race/community relations in the borough.

- *As long as you don't argue and appear grateful and accept a lower status, you are accepted by whites here. But if you protest you are a trouble maker.—West Indian teacher.*

- *When will whites in the area work with us and not do things for us, as if we are little children.—youth worker in Kensal Rise/Kensal Green area.*

Asked specifically whether they knew about the BCRC, 76% of black respondents replied that they had never heard of the Council, although 51% knew of Phil Sealy. The majority (42%) of those interviewed who had heard of the BCRC, felt that it had no influence or real powers and that it would be better for them to approach local authority through their own organisations, 36% thought the BCRC was 'useless' and about 22% thought it was doing a 'good' job.

Of the 23% who had had contact with the BCRC: A substantial number (62%) thought the BCRC was genuinely taking up issues affecting the life style of blacks in the area and 38% thought they were not. 60% were not happy with the results of their contact and 40% were.

- *The BCRC is only a talking shop for interested blacks. They are not listened to by local authority who nevertheless welcome their presence because they can boast, when challenged, that there is a BCRC which they present as evidence of their tolerance and non-racialism.—West Indian trade union activist.*

- *The BCRC is dependent on the borough council for finance and facilities. How can they really attack the hand that is feeding them. The local authorities know that so they just don't take note.—local teacher.*

Apart from the major and successful effort during the past year to obtain a realistic professional staff establishment, another change which is worthwhile recording is the fact that the BCRC has elected a black chairman.

In his personal statement to the 1975 BCRC Annual General Meeting, the outgoing chairman observed that, 'In all the time I have been a member, I do not recall a single major issue—and there have been many and contentious issues over the last seven or eight years—on which we have split black against white. Whatever else BCRC may have achieved or not achieved, that fact says something about the potential for good race relations in Brent.'

That is partly true, but to any observer of the community relations scene in Brent, it has become obvious that during the past year there have been rumblings of dissatisfaction from the black members of the BCRC Council, manifested in various Council meetings where these members surprisingly acted in unison on various issues—surprisingly in that previous meetings found blacks in opposition to each other and actually attacking one another.

Education

One issue which has exercised the attention of both the BCRC and the black community in the area as a whole has been the high incidence of black children in Educationally Sub-normal Schools in Brent.

At 27% the proportion of black pupils in Brent schools is about double the overall percentage of blacks in the borough which is 14%. There are two main ESN schools in the area—Manor Primary and Woodfield Secondary—which have 57% and 52% respectively pupils who are black. The total proportion of ESN pupils who are black is 51%. There is no doubt that these figures are disturbing and would naturally attract national publicity.

In a report to the 1975 AGM of BCRC, W. Mullings, Chairman of the BCRC nominated School Managers and Governors, reported the situation as such:

> *Very soon after we were established as a body, we started to hear from parents that their children were being sent to schools which the Heads described as 'special schools'. These parents took it for granted that, as in the West Indies and other countries, a special school was one with a higher academic standard; they thought that the same applied here, but they were somewhat amazed that here a special school was one where they send children who could not or cannot settle down in the normal primary schools. Invariably some of the children who are sent off to these ESN schools are children who are only slow learners, and once classified as an ESN his or her chances of being de-ascertained are very low indeed.*
>
> *To get first-hand information as to whether these parents' views were justified, we visited an ESN primary school.*

One of the major problems why so many children land up in these schools is, according to Mr Mullings, because of inadequate testing techniques:

> *The whole test situation should be changed. Researchers suggest that black children achieve higher scores when they are tested by a black psychologist.*
>
> *It costs nearly £400 a year to teach an ESN child and only £90 a year in a normal school.*

The Brent CRC Joint Education Sub-Committee in a statement[13] summed up the issues involved as follows:

We have an educational system which provides for special education. If one accepts that at present this is the system, then one would expect to find roughly the same proportion of say West Indian children in the ESN schools as in the whole school population in a given area. We have compared the London Boroughs of Brent and Newham where on the 1969 figures (TES 1971) the proportion was the same in Newham and more than twice as much in the ESN schools as in ordinary schools in Brent. These are boroughs quite similar in social composition, types of school etc. There is however a multi-disciplinary team in Newham which discusses every child proposed for ESN education before the course of ascertainment is suggested. This is not a guarantee that mistakes are not made, but it does seem likely that this may be a factor in producing a healthier situation in that Borough.

So disillusioned has the black community become with the ESN schools that people are taking a long cool look at all its implications.

'We must have greater interaction and freer discussion of the whole matter,' a black teacher said. 'It is important that we let the public as a whole know what all this is really about. Blacks have shown an appalling inadequacy in organising themselves on this very important question . . .

The harm of ESN schools and the stigma it has will leave an indelible mark on the children. The whole test situation should be changed and researchers suggest that black children achieve higher scores when they are tested by a black psychologist . . .

The implications of a big number of black children who find themselves in ESN schools and who can never return to normal schools, are far reaching and definitely permanent. The black child will only be eligible for the jobs which only ESN pupils are able to do—that is simple, repetitive jobs of a menial kind where little intelligence is needed . . .

The authorities should be aware that by placing black kids in these schools, they are not solving a problem but only making one. These children will grow up to hate and react violently against the system that has made them really useless members of society . . ."

But not all people in Brent share this viewpoint. In answer to a question from the Commons Select Committee for Race Relations and Immigration[14] whether they were ever considering getting rid of ESN schools, Brent's education authority, which is not the most enlightened, replied:

It is not our intention at this stage to think of eliminating ESN schools. We are conscious of the **suggestion** *that many of the youngsters who go to ESN schools, largely immigrant pupils, are not truly educationally subnormal and I will not detract from what the psychologist might say; but there is a*

feeling, and I put it no different from that, that many youngsters are in these ESN schools **because this is how they appear to be.** *(My emphasis.)*

One of the factors causing the black child some problems is standard English. The black child in many instances does not understand what the teacher is saying and this is then interpreted by the teacher as a lack of intelligence. In fact black educationalists contend that it is the teacher who does not understand—he expects the child to react in a 'normal' way. Other factors include cultural differences and different attitudes toward discipline.

The problems that result are brought out in the following interviews with school children and young blacks.

- *I arrived in Brent from Jamaica when I was 10 years old. I had lived with my granny and vaguely remembered dad who left when I was three years old. Mum had joined him later when he had been in London for about 5 years. He sent for her. I had to remain in Jamaica with granny for 2½ years. When I got to London, I joined two other smaller brothers. Dad was also a stranger. I was doing quite well in school in Jamaica. I was also used to discipline in the school and the correctness of the teacher.*

  Well, I got into an argument with a teacher. He could not understand what I was saying so he called me a stupid fool—from then on I never really cared. My work suffered, but it did not matter.—18-year-old unemployed Jamaican.

- *The teacher was a fool really. He never could make contact with me or other black students. He never understood us. When I answered a question he would say to me, 'Is that German? Or what kind of English is that?' Then white students laughed at me and this encouraged him. Well as time went on I refused to answer any of his questions. I just kept quiet. Of course he said I was stupid and unco-operative. And wrote that in my report. I was glad when I reached 16 and could leave school. I didn't learn a thing in his class.—18-year-old Barbadian machine operator.*

Under-five facilities

The headmaster of the Harlesden Primary School felt that there was a definite correlation between attainment and adjustment problems in his primary school and the under-five facilities available in the Borough.

You can definitely establish quickly whether a five year old has been to a good childminder, play group or nursery school. We have to spend a longer time with those who did not benefit from any good under-five facilities.

And most of these children come from black homes.

There are over 25,000 children under five in the Borough, and at best 4,000 are being looked after in some form of day care. Presently just under 700 day

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nursery places are provided by the local authority and about 320 private nursery places are available. These places, both existing and planned, are not distributed equally throughout the Borough nor are they concentrated in the areas of social need—the areas where blacks are concentrated.

In a discussion paper entitled 'Play in Brent'[15], the following observations sum up the situation of the under fives in the area:

> *Even though the Harlesden and Willesden areas are so much more needy than the areas in the North of the Borough, when the local authority and private nursery provision are totalled both these areas have a very similar number of places. When we look at the planned nursery provision, we are shocked to find that in Willesden and Harlesden together only 10 new places are planned, whereas in the Wembley area 85 are planned. We welcome this provision for Wembley but hope that any futher provision will match this in proportion to the much greater needs of the Southern half of the Borough. In Kilburn and Kensal Green, where needs are great, no new nursery places are planned at all . . .*

Compared with other London Boroughs of similar size and with similar social problems, Brent is also severely lacking in all forms of provided play-grounds. This under provision is particularly harmful in the areas of the Borough suffering from acute social need. The wards which have the largest number of poor families (as demonstrated by the free school dinners takers) are **Roundwood, Carlton, Harlesden, Kensal Rise, Manor** and **Willesden Green**, all wards where blacks are concentrated.

Very few black parents benefit from the nursery school provision, as illustrated by the comments of various black mothers.

- *Council Nurseries are only open for half the day, until 12 noon. Well, here am I working until 5 p.m. Where will my boy go after 12 o'clock? It means I must get someone to fetch and look after him from noon or get a job until that time, which is impossible for me.—Mrs Grace Jacobs of Carlton Vale.*
- *These nurseries are not for working mothers. It is difficult to get part-time work—at least until 12 o'clock. I could only get work with hours from 7.30 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. Too early to take my daughter to nursery and too late to collect her.—Mrs Katy Robinson, Harlesden.*

What is needed, as 'Play in Brent' and various other bodies in the area show, is adequate all day nurseries which can cater for the working mother. Brent Council has not unfortunately placed enough priority on this kind of facility, and it seems, has not yet grasped the essential nature of such all day nursery arrangements.

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Where then do the rest of the black under-fives go? This applies especially to West Indians, as only a few West Indian mothers do not work and a bigger majority of Asian children are being looked after by relatives.

The answer lies in the 'child minding' arrangements which are widespread in Brent. The educational and development hazards associated with child minding are well-known and widely recognised. Efforts however have been made by voluntary organisations, such as the Campaign for Under-Fives and the BCRC and by the Social Services Committee to develop projects offering support to child minders. It was hoped that these projects would lend themselves fully to a training programme for child minders.

Child minders, both registered and unregistered, are extensively used by working mothers as a whole in the Borough. But as far as black mothers are concerned more use unregistered child minders.

There is no doubt that the extent and character of these arrangements and their effect on black under-fives needs close investigation, but it must be treated as part of a general reassessment of under-fives' educational needs in the Borough, and the effect the absence of such provision has later on in their educational attainment and the progress of black youth in the Borough.

The BCRC Joint Educational Sub-Committee in its document on West Indian children in ESN Schools brings this out clearly when it states that:

> *The difficulty of course does not begin at the secondary or even primary school. Adequate and good pre-school provision for all would without doubt help considerably to reduce the number of children who are disadvantaged throughout their schooling and many of whom are referred for ascertainment for special schooling. In Brent the problem of unsuitable child minding is recognised as being a very serious one.*

One of the ways in which the black community in Brent can monitor progress in the schools and discover what is actually happening to their children is by the appointment of black parents as school managers and governors.

One of the signal successes of the BCRC, in the education field at the time when this inquiry was taking place, has been the role it has played in the increase in the number of blacks to posts as school managers and governors.

Another thing which also worries black parents in the area is the poor performance generally of their children in schools and the growing number of black children who are being suspended from Brent schools mainly because of the breakdown in relations between student and teacher.

Although a few black youngsters manage to get their 'O' levels, only a very few leave school with any decent passes and many drop out.

Of 60 black youngsters over 16 years who were interviewed, 6 had 'O' levels, a few had CSE and the rest had no paper qualifications whatsoever.

The 200 youngsters (aged 12 to 21 years) who were interviewed and who filled

in the questionnaire had definite viewpoints about school, and their attitude to school was far from encouraging. Few (about 40%) West Indians thought they had seriously learned anything to help them in the future, although a big number (60%) among Asian youngsters thought the opposite. A fair proportion of West Indians (50%) had no ider as to what they were going to do in the future, whereas, Asians (78%) were more positive about their future. A fairly high proportion of West Indians (40%) had job expectations beyond their actual qualifications and again the opposite was generally true of Asian youngsters (60%).

- *I like my school. I like my teacher—he is good at maths. That is my best subject. My classmates play around too much.—14-year-old Asian boy.*

- *Every time I go for a job they want me to sweep and clean up. I don't mind. One has to do some rough work, but what makes me angry is when they take you on they say it is clerical. But once you start they expect you to run around for them. In 18 months I've had four jobs, all the same. My brother is making out okay. But no running around for me.—17½-year-old West Indian unemployed youth.*

There is no doubt that the present educational system is on the whole not meeting the needs of the black child and if it is not changed and children continue to fail within it, then they will grow up, as indeed they already are doing (discussed later), to react against the system which has crippled them by making them far from adequate and totally unaware of their rights and responsibilities as young citizens.

What Brent needs is not only more black teachers, but a thorough look at the view some teachers take in regard to the child's language, and at their ignorance of the history, culture and literature of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean.

What is needed more is an attempt to make black history, culture and literature part of the **normal** curriculum of the educational system in the schools in the area, in order that whites too can benefit from such information. No harm can come from appointing West Indian and Asian Careers Officers (there were none in Brent when the study took place), who could be of tremendous value to young blacks in helping them find and keep jobs that are commensurate with their abilities. They could advise young blacks about their prospects in employment; encourage firms in the area to give opportunities to blacks; help black youngsters to prepare themselves for interviews and raise the present standard of jobs available to the growing number of young black school leavers.

These are just a few of the things black parents in Brent feel should be done in the education field for them to *feel* that attempts are seriously being made to improve matters.

However, they will have to battle harder. Although some heads are sympathetic the top brass in the Brent Education Department is anything but

sympathetic to ideas of 'black studies', as clarified by the Borough's Director of Education who when asked in 1973 if the Borough ever thought of introducing black studies in their schools, feared that it was a racialistic and divisive course, which could do no good. 'I doubt its value,' she said.

Of the 140 young people interviewed (through a questionnaire, in pubs, betting shops, youth clubs, street corners, record shops), 70% were unemployed, 10% were trying to get back into the educational stream (like college) and 20% were employed. Although the unemployment figure among black youngsters in Brent is indeed a high one, the figure of 70% is however way above the actual unemployment figure among any section in the borough. The presence of such a large percentage (70%) could indeed be related to, in this instance, to the locality of contact—pubs, betting shops, street corners etc. Two hundred young people in all were interviewed. Sixty of them were still at school or had just left. The rest, 140 were young people between the ages of 17 and 21 who had left school for a year or more.

Employment

However, one of the main reasons for the number of unemployed blacks in the area, is the general and rapidly changing employment situation in London away from manufacturing to the servicing industry. This has particular significance in Brent since one quarter of London's industrial workers are in NW London, especially around Park Royal, and because in London 40% blacks (as compared with 29% of the total male working population) work in the manufacturing industry. The Department of Employment data shows that the area of London which includes Willesden (the inner West Area) has consistently has from 1966-1973 a much greater number of redundancies than the rest of Greater London. This underlines the now familiar pattern of continuing contraction in the labour force in manufacturing in London. The same data also shows that in 1973, the Inner West area had the highest total unemployment among all areas of significant unemployment, and that of the registered unemployed, 26% were West Indian.

It is against this background showing Willesden in a particularly bad employment situation that the London Council of Social Service's general comment in their survey must be viewed:

> *. . . Our figures show a high level of unemployment among young black people and this gives rise to particular concern . . . The numbers are rising. The average period of unemployment is lengthening.*

Bearing this point in mind, how do black youngsters see the employment front?

- *I don't know how many times I have been turned down. Every morning I used to leave home early looking for a job. At the beginning I believed that I would get one, but after a time it became a bore looking for a job. It is better to stay at home.—18 year-old Jamaican boy.*

- *I don't want a third class job, I do have some CSEs. But it does not matter anyway, the bosses are not interested. If I want a manual job I am sure I'll get one. In fact I was offered one. But what future is there in it for me.—18 year-old Jamaican boy.*

Over the past 15-20 years large numbers of black children have come to Brent to join their parents. While it is true that the majority of black children now in schools in the area are those born in this country (second generation as they are euphemistically called), those who have just left school and are in their last years at school, were usually born overseas. Many came to Brent late in their school careers, some like the Asian children with little or no knowledge of English (at least one of their parents may well not have known English as well), or West Indian children with a knowledge of English but not the kind of English spoken and understood in Britain.

Of the 70% (98) of the 140 youths who were unemployed, about 30% (31) had no interest in work at all. When asked **why they had no interest in work**, the majority (25) replied that they felt their chances of a good job was very limited because of their colour. This information they have gained either through direct experience or through friends. Many believed **prior** to their search for work that they would not get **any** decent job at all.

A young youth worker said:

> *I place much of the blame on the teachers who did not encourage us. On the careers officer who did not advise us properly and made us feel that only dead-end jobs were good enough for us. But finally it is our performance at school on which we get judged, a bad pass or a wrong subject and employers are not happy to employ you.*

What also became clear in the course of the interviews was the role played by the school (the Careers Officers) in the type of careers suggested to black youngsters.

- *When I said I wanted to become a lawyer the careers master laughed at me. He suggested I should concentrate on carpentry.—19 year-old clerical worker.*

- *I was told to take up nursing although I disliked it.—shorthand typist.*

- *I said I wanted to become a social worker, but the careers teacher told me that I would become a good secretary.—20 year-old typist.*

Asian Youth

One of the growing problems among blacks in the Borough is the increasing alienation, frustration and conflict with parents which black youths are generally experiencing with their parents. Among Asians the situation is not yet so intense as it is with West Indians.

Mr Karamat Hussain, one of the two black councillors summed up the situation among Brent's Asian community as follows:

- *The Asian community in Brent is a very close knit one. When there are problems between father and son the community tries to solve it within itself. Sometimes I am called in. It might be a matter where the parents might fear that their children will forget their own culture and religion. Here tact and understanding is needed. Parents need to discuss things with their children. I don't really think we have a real parent-child conflict at the moment within the Asian community. I am not saying such a conflict won't occur in the future.*

But other Asian parents and young people are not so confident.

- *The school has much to do with the breaking up of the close Asian family. The atmosphere is very liberal. Boys go out with girls. When they come home they want to go out like their white friends. Although I must admit Asian youngsters have given in to their parents up to now, I know of some instances where this has resulted in the young man leaving home and being excommunicated. Parents keep these things quiet. They are afraid of the disgrace.—Asian shopkeeper, Kensal Rise.*

- *Parents still want their children to marry their own kind. This is understandable. But I revolted and married an English girl. I had to leave the Midlands where we were living and come to Brent. It has taken us some time to be accepted here among the Asian community.—Asian accountant in Brondesbury.*

Homelessness

Among West Indians this problem of alienation and conflict with parents is much more obvious as numerous studies have shown. What is more disturbing is the number of young West Indians who have left the parental home and who in many instances are living in difficult circumstances in Brent. It is difficult to give an overall number, but using the sample interviewed as a basis together with their knowledge of others who were homeless gives a reasonable percentage of those living apart from their parents and who are homeless in the long term.

Of the 140 youngsters interviewed, about 30% of the unemployed (boys and girls together) and 40% of the employed were not living with their parents. The main reason emerged as the conflict between parents and children over

employment difficulties, over moral issues and over life styles. Parents were accused of having authoritarian views which were contrary to those of their children who had observed attitudes and views from their school and English friends.

- *I left home because my mother nagged me continually to get a job. I used to go out daily to look for a job but she did not believe me when I told her I could not get one. She thought I was telling lies.—19 year-old bricklayer.*
- *I left home because I wanted to live with my girl friend. My parents thought it was immoral. They are so old fashioned.—20 year-old St Lucian youth.*
- *Would you like to be told every time how your mother was brought up? Well, I could not stand it anymore so I told her to shut up. After that I was told to leave if I did not ask her forgiveness. She must be daft.—19 year-old Jamaican shop assistant.*

One of the few places where homeless black youth have found a refuge in the area is at the Harlesden Community Project based at Nicholl Road. The project provides supportive accommodation for young blacks and caters for about 17 teenagers. Some of the interviews took place at the Centre.

Youth facilities

There are few other facilities for black youth in the area. A small percentage find their way to the youth clubs in the area, but here again, as with nursery facilities and open space areas, youth facilities are concentrated unequally in the Wembley part of the borough regardless of needs. Sports Clubs have been provided in a ratio of 2:1 in favour of the part of the borough with remarkably fewer needs. The Harlesden and Kensal Rise areas are the worst off although there is one good youth club—the Tiverton Youth Club—run by Basic Javis, which is now attracting many black youth.

A survey carried out by the youth service in 1971 confirmed that a large number of black children do not go to clubs. One of the reasons, according to the youngsters interviewed in the author's survey, is the way the clubs are run and what is expected of them if they attend these clubs.

- *I went to this youth club. It was 90% white. Although I liked it, I could feel that the white youth leader did not like it. He made me feel very uncomfortable. I did not return.—18 year-old Jamaican youth.*
- *The white youth leader told us the club was full as it had its quota for black youth.—youth in Roundwood area.*
- *The disco was good but the club only had rock and roll—that is not my scene, I like reggae and soul. But what got at me was the atmosphere which*

gave you a feeling that it was a very 'respectable' club for white or prissy blacks only.—18 year-old youth in Alperton area.

Youth and Police

Usually in a situation where there are few facilities for young people, where relations between teenagers and parents are not so good, where there is a high incidence of unemployment and some degree of homelessness and where there are generally poor social conditions, relations between black youth and the police are not the best.

Brent, however, does not seem to have developed the near explosive relations between its black youth and its local police as elsewhere in London. This does not mean that relations are harmonious, only that they are not explosive, nor have they reached a 'breakdown point'.

There have been various complaints agains the police following allegations of brutality against blacks. One such complaint during August 1974 was from CARD alleging complaints concerning the treatment of prisoners at Harlesden police station. The matter was subsequently investigated by a Chief Inspector.

Recognising the tenuous black/police relations, the BCRC and the police jointly set up the Police Liaison Sub-Committee of the BCRC, the main aims of which are:

- *to encourage the integration, ie 'equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' of coloured citizens and immigrants into the community;*
- *to promote racial harmony in the community by affording a channel of communication between the police and other sections of the community, and by sponsoring projects designed to encourage and enhance good community relations;*
- *to deal generally with complaints about police/police station action or inaction within the boundaries laid down by the Police Acts and Police Discipline Regulations;*
- *to deal generally with complaints of unsocial behaviour on the part of immigrants, coloured citizens and others.*

The committee had representatives of the police in the person of the Chief Superintendents of Harlesden and Wembley Police Stations and the Police Community Liaison Officer for 'Q' Division (Brent) of the Metropolitan Police, home, beat officers etc.

The Sub-Committee produced an informative booklet, 'The Police, the Law and You', which is available at Brent Police Stations, as well as youth clubs, and libraries and schools.

In their 1974-75 report to the BCRC AGM, the Sub-Committee reported:

- *We are still concerned about other issues such as complaints procedures against the police, but believe that we have been right in concentrating on practical issues which we can do something about locally. And, at the risk of sounding smug and complacent, we believe still that by sitting round a table every month and talking, even though we slide round some matters and by no means always agree, some positive, if almost intangible result is achieved. It would be naive to suggest that the Police Liaison Committee is the reason for a low profile in Brent of troublesome police-black relations, but it would be equally naive to suggest that the two facts were unrelated.*

Another reason for the low profile in Brent of troublesome police-black relations has been the appointment of the past two Commanders, both of whom view the situation not as a hard 'law and order' issue but one which must be seen in the context of the position of blacks in society as a whole.

The present Commander, Mr Bob Bryan, summed up his attitude as follows:

> *There is no doubt that the problems of unemployment, education and aspiration are inevitably linked and bedevilled by this problem of black people and the police.*
> *The police service is the only visible and tangible symbol of all forms of establishment, whether it be local authority, central government, or any other organisation which controls and regulates people's lives.*

The Commander has also made it clear that he wants to see police-black relations improved wherever possible.

There is no doubt that these views are slowly seeping through the local police ranks, some of whom are not happy with this attitude.

That the police are the first public image of the established order of society is not disputed and indeed police-black relations is generally a vexed question of the day. Obviously a number of allegations against the police are true. But to what extent does the blanket allegation of police brutality against blacks cloud the real issues at hand, providing an easy avenue for protest from pseudo-revolutionary and pseudo-grass roots upholders of black 'rights' and stigmatising the black community as a 'law and order' problem with all the consequences arising therefrom?

The questionnaire which covered about 200 people included some questions which reveal the following:

- *that a small number of the youth interviewed (22%) had ever asked the police for any help;*
- *that 51% of the youth interviewed found the police helpful;*

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- *that 15% of the youth had had no problems with the police;*
- *that a big proportion of blacks (55%) used the police stations for information, complaints etc;*
- *that a large number (51%) of the blacks interviewed had no real hard feelings against the police.*

Some quotes include:

- *I don't mind the pigs. They've never bothered me.—17 year-old Jamaican.*
- *I have been taken to the station three times. I was beaten up by the police. —19 year-old unemployed.*
- *I think all right. I was in trouble once, when I was trespassing in an old house with friends.—16 year-old student.*
- *They're not bad. I've had no contact with them.—19 year-old metal worker.*
- *Bastards. Arrested? Yes, for shoplifting which I wasn't really involved in, but they threatened to lock us up all night.—16 year-old student.*
- *I hate them very much. Yes, I've had contact with them. I ran away from home, was caught hitch-hiking a lift.—14 year-old student.*

An interesting point which emerged from the interviews was that as a group black youngsters took a general antagonistic line towards the police. When approached individually and privately they were softer in their criticism and some acknowledged that their dislike stemmed from a group attitude.

The group syndrome is understandable, but can lead to an entirely false picture being depicted as regards attitude to various phenomena.

It is what many so-called black militants call, 'the black community', which confuses many whites into believing that the black community is a fairly homogeneous one, with fairly homogeneous ideas and attitudes.

How they see the future

How then do blacks see their future in Brent and their place within British society?

As shown earlier many older blacks come to this country to improve themselves, some would not have left home had conditions not been so difficult for them, whereas a few would have gone to other countries had that been possible. Most came not to settle but to work for a time and then return. No doubt influenced by the nature of their reception, and the relatively poor prospects before them in Britain, many remain reluctant to cut their ties with their country of origin and still express the intention of returning home at a future unidentified date.

Among the younger blacks there is the conflict of identification as a black, and the cultural assimilation which takes place in schools and with friends naturally rubs off on them.

How does this all reflect their ideas about the future, about race relations in Brent and how things could be improved?

When asked **'What do you think of race relations in Brent'** 45% among the young respondents replied 'not so bad', and 15% said 'bad', whereas 40% among the older respondents replied 'bad' and 30% said 'improving'; 40% of young blacks were positively optimistic about the future, and 20% among older blacks were hoping to return to their countries of origin.

- *I hope to get a better job and promotion. Earn more money and then buy myself a car—things are not so bad.—22 year-old clerical worker.*
- *I fear for the future. We are just being tolerated in this country. I hope to go back to Jamaica.—Jamaican worker.*
- *I like it here. I have friends and can keep my own.—19 year-old metal worker.*
- *Well I am going to take a course in engineering at the Poly. In this country if you are prepared to work and plan you will prosper.—28 year-old student.*
- *I will go back some time. At the moment I must work hard and get enough money. I don't see any future here for my children.—Pakistani accountant.*
- *I think more jobs for our youngsters would help race relations in this borough.—West Indian mother.*
- *If employers are more sympathetic and give our young people a chance.—West Indian father of four.*

From the replies to the question an interesting point emerges: older blacks are less future orientated and more pessimistic, whereas younger blacks, more optimistic, are anticipating a better future through finding better jobs and looking forward to promotion possibilities.

Summary of Conclusions

It is generally agreed that the problems which haunt blacks and consequently race and community relations have mostly been identified.

Certain of these problems are straightforward. Others are more complex and need better identification. The problems of housing, employment and education are vividly depicted in the numerous interviews in all three areas studied. They are common to blacks in all the areas and the degree of discrimination as seen through the eyes of those interviewed is more or less the same.

The relationship between black youngsters and their parents are equally manifest in all three areas. What, however, does emerge from the three studies is the growing number of homeless and unemployed youth, of unmarried black mothers, and the increasing breakdown in relations between Asian youth and their parents. This last point is of obvious interest because it is something new and a pointer to the future, although a problem which is already manifest in the West Indian family.

The significance of the group syndrome is another factor which clearly emerges from the three studies.

The attitude towards the police is one of the most interesting. When interviewed as a group black youngsters who have been depicted as blatantly anti-police by the press and other race relations experts emerge as just so. However, when interviewed individually, away from their peers, a different attitude emerges.

Figures in all three areas show a large percentage of neutral black youngsters who can be described as anything but anti.

This group syndrome is understandable, but as the attitude towards the police shows, can lead to an entirely false picture being depicted as regards attitudes to various other phenomena.

There is no doubt that this group syndrome phenomena has been used by so called black leaders to claim 'grass-roots' and black community support and has conned many whites into believing that the black community is a fairly homogeneous one, with fairly homogeneous ideas and attitudes. The consequence of this majority labelling process has led to many problems and over-simplications as so many in the race and community scene know too well. It is, however, true that the different black communities have little in common except the fact of being migrants and black and the shared experience of

discrimination, although there is a latent, if not growing sense of community being developed.

Obviously it is in the interest of good community relations that effective representative black organisations should emerge. What these studies do show is the lack of effective black organisation and the importance of black organisations once they do emerge, together with the importance of understanding the internal social structures inhibiting the behaviour of black minorities in a predominantly white society.

The consequence of internal variety may lead to the emergence of a new kind of black unity and identity which in the long run may prove a crucial factor in the development of black-white relations in Britain.

It is necessary to view the various groupings within the black community as part of a latent sense of community forged during the different relationships, which in the instance of Huddersfield reached its culminating development in the formation of the Huddersfield Minorities' Group Council. This development proves F. Barth's[16] contention that, ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built'.

This now brings into sharp relief the whole concept of integration or assimilation if any race relations study is going to be relevant. Wendell Chapman, one of the most discerning West Indian community leaders in Huddersfield, neatly sums up this integration concept. Although aimed at Huddersfield, it is equally applicable to all three areas studied.

> *In the earlier days of black immigration into Huddersfield, the commonly held view was that immigrants should not be thought as different from everybody else and should be received and integrated into the wider society. As immigrant communities grew larger, this concept arose among a few enlightened members of a society with common standards and culture, but containing within itself group and special communities with cultural, racial and religious traditions divergent from the wider culture.*
>
> *At present it would seem advisable to encourage groups, where possible, to develop and maintain their own culture and identity. It is far preferable that minority groups should join in activities and developments in the wider society from a firm family and social base within their own community, if this is what they want. Here again the individual must be allowed a choice. Many 'coloured' people will wish in future not to identify themselves closely with the community of their own racial group. Others, however, will continue to identify very closely with their own racial and religious group and it is essential that this group should feel stable and secure and equal in status to other groups.*

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That is the ideal solution. But what are the problems? Chapman once more:

> *Equality is not going to come through legislation, it has got to come through a change in attitudes. And I don't think you can force this upon people. We talk blandly about integration but what it really means is that both sides are going to treat each other as equals, and, no matter how much we pretend, I don't think it is happening.*
>
> *When English people talk about integration what they are really saying is that you must be like us. The conflict is that black people, even if they have been brought up here, cannot be entirely like white people. But surely it is perfectly in order for them to have their own ideals and sense of identity?*
>
> *There is no real answer to the black problem. English people, by virtue of their heritage and culture are prejudiced. They believe that anything that is not English can't be as good and why shouldn't they? They are proud of being English and this is quite reasonable. It is also one of the reasons why they can never see black people as their equals in the strictest sense of the word.*

The reports clearly show that most of the black respondents were very apprehensive about the future of race relations in all three areas and doubtful about the possibility of eliminating racial discrimination. Many of them felt that there is unlikely to be a great improvement in race relations until there is a change in the distribution of resources and opportunities within the wider society.

The main guideline of action against racial discrimination should, therefore, be to take effective measures against underlying social evils, making special allowances where necessary for the disabilities of blacks. We do not need to hot up a mythical 'race war', rather we should seek to resolve the underlying conflicts which erupt.

Earlier a reference was made to the absence or importance of black organisations. The importance of black organisations is well illustrated in Huddersfield, where their presence (although late) radically changed the race relations scene.

The lack of black organisations and effective black leaders on the other hand has left a vacuum in many of the local Community Relations Councils, whose CROs understandably, although disastrously, feel that they should fill the vacuum. The conflict arising out of this interpretation has led to the belief by some CROs that they are the 'black spokesmen' and that the Community Relations Councils are an adjunct of the black lobby at its best, or at its worst, an organisation existing to represent black viewpoints only. So obsessive a belief has this become among some CROs, in spite of what they might say in their Annual Reports, that even where black organisations do exist, they (the CROs)

insist on interpreting their role in practice as being that of spokesman for blacks in the area. The Brent CRO in this study falls into this category.

What does emerge from the report is the failure, in the minds of blacks in both Brent and Huddersfield, of the Community Relations Councils to draw all the institutions, both **public** and **private**, which determine the life chances of people in the two localities within their ambit. In both areas black feelings indicate that the two CRCs and their CROs have so far failed to involve these crucial institutions in any meaningful way as far as they affect the life style of blacks in the area.

It is vital for such an exercise of involving crucial institutions for the CROs to have sufficient status, power and recognised community support.

This status, power and community support has also the added advantage of making it possible for the CROs to criticise central and local authorities **effectively**. To what extent blacks in the three areas regard their respective CROs and CRCs as having the necessary status, power and community support comes clearly out in the various interviews. What is portrayed are the obstacles encountered in **protest** activities by essentially powerless CROs and CRCs who regard themselves as **pressure groups**, attempting to work broadly within the system.

Protest activity on such a basis, as manifested in Brent, is a problem of bargaining in which the basic difficulty for the powerless is **the lack** of political resources to exchange. There are, therefore, limitations on the usefulness of protest activitiy at a local level under such conditions and a CRO could thus not act as a radical community organiser. **The community relations movement is on the whole a government sponsored exercise and it would be ludicrous to expect a subsidised revolution, and a black one at that.** This becomes extremely relevant when assessing, in terms of the replies from blacks interviewed in all three areas, the effectiveness of the three CROs and Community Relations Councils and their ability to produce the 'goods'.

In the Huddersfield study reference was made to the town's reputation for tolerance and harmony and to what many whites, both as individuals and as spokesmen for local authority, have claimed to be very much a positive approach to race relations. The town boasts one of the oldest language tuition units for Asian children in the country and it is true that various experiments were made in this respect. However, what the Huddersfield study illustrates is the fact that the town's officially supported public image has been built up by virtually paying no attention to the views and experiences of the ordinary black folk whose goodwill, understanding and support it needs to sustain this image. What does clearly emerge is the belief by the Huddersfield Community Relations Council that this public image of the town is indeed a correct one. Consequently, the Huddersfield CRC and its CRO saw their role as a sort of **one way bridge building**, a bridge which would enable blacks to cross over to or

integrate with the 'tolerant' white structure in the area.

In the Wandsworth study both the CRO and the Wandsworth Council for Community Relations fulfil in the eyes of the blacks interviewed a **community development role** which does produce the 'goods', does not claim to be a spokesman for local blacks and in fact actively discourages blacks from regarding the WCCR as such and spurns the 'political' stance. This has brought the WCCR and the CRO in for criticism for not being 'black orientated' and for not being 'political' enough, and for not encouraging black organisations to emerge.

What comes into question right through the reports is the position and stance of the local CRO. If he is strong-willed and a dominant figure, then he generally ends up controlling and running his local Community Relations Council, or he finds himself in opposition to them.

There is also his relation to the Community Relations Commission, the body which in fact pays his salary.

It is this ambiguity about his operational subordination which in many an instance governs his effectiveness, his outlook to his work, his relationship with both his local committee (which in theory is his employer) and the Community Relations Commission which trains him and finances most of his projects. The difficulties arising out of all this clearly emerge from the three reports where each CRO had a different image of himself and his work, despite similar constitutions and briefs.

All three studies expose the **fractious nature** of community relations work—lack of resources, lack of government and local backing, a brief which is open to various interpretations, a difficult political climate, intrigues, power struggles, political blackmail, pressure from blacks etc; they emphasise the need for reorganising race relations bodies with the aim of making them forceful; in providing effective remedies rather than posing as token gestures of goodwill.

The new strategy outlined in the government's Race Relations Bill implies a recognition of the need for such reorganisation. The powers proposed for the new Race Relations Commission, which among others, include its strategic role in dealing with patterns of discrimination, a new definition of unlawful discrimination, which covers unintended discrimination and a clear acknowledgement of the importance of disadvantage, are all part of this new strategy.

But all this becomes meaningful only if the new Commission, in the eyes of the black community, have a better and more effective relationship with central government than has the present Community Relations Commission. It is essential that the new body is much more relied on by government, which it is hoped, will genuinely recognise its advisory function on general matters of disadvantage and discrimination. This is important if the new body is going to have any impact on both race relations in this country and government thinking and action.

Whether the Race Relations Bill will provide answers to the above remains to be seen.

If it, among others:

- *provides a better and more effective relationship between CROs and their local community relations councils, as well as between CROs and local community relations councils on the one hand and the new Race Relations Commission on the other;*
- *provides the new body with the necessary resources to protect it from being haunted by fears of being unpopular with vociferous sections of the black community on the one hand, and on the other, from being regarded as an adjunct of the black lobby as the present CRC is, because of its narrowly defined powers, its inadequate resources and its cumbersome and circumscribed brief;*
- *assists and encourages the formation of genuine local black organisations which would be able to operate better as* **independent pressure groups** *outside the structures imposed by a consensual local CRC,*

then only will it have gone a long way to providing local community relations work with the stamina and goal of building a genuine bridge between ethnic minorities and majority institutions, as well as being of service to both. Only in this way will it bring community and race relations back to reality.

What finally does emerge from the report is the fact that the colonial relationship between benevolent hosts and suppliant blacks is now a myth. But more than that: whether you are a black or white CRO makes no difference to the majority of blacks. What matters to them is whether you can produce the 'goods' to their satisfaction. This new sophistication among blacks marks a departure from the 'black is at all cost beautiful' concept which so many blacks in the race relations industry still tenuously hide behind.

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1 But see Spring-Grove—the education of immigrant children (OUP-1965) by Trevor Burgin and Paddy Edson.
2 Interview in Huddersfield Examiner.
3 The HCRC dealt with a total of 1,005 cases ranging from nationality and immigration to domestic and social issues during the year up to the last (1975) AGM.
4 Wendell Chapman has since changed his name to Abdul Ali and has embraced the Moslem faith.
5 See the Huddersfield Examiner, Jan 3, 1975.
6 See the Huddersfield Examiner, Jan 14, 1974.
7 See Report of WCCR Ugandan Resettlement Unit Officer, Urmela Patel 1975.
8 Brent is now divided into three parliamentary constituencies: Brent North, Brent East and Brent South, the latter two held by Labour and the former by the Conservatives. In 1965 the Tories controlled the local Council. In 1970 it changed to Labour control and has remained so since.
9 Remarks by ex-Willesden East Tory MP Trevor Skeet in the Willesden Chronicle, Aug 31, 1962.
10 See also Interim Report and Proposed activities for 1969/70 by P. Sealy.
11 Whither Urban Aid (Phase 12) in Brent?—prepared by P. Sealy for the BCRC.
12 ASTMS is the union to which CROs belong.
13 Brief Statement on West Indian Children in ESN Schools, Brent CRC Joint Education Sub-Committee, Sept 1972.
14 See Memorandum of Evidence to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration by the Education Committee of the London Borough of Brent.
15 Play in Brent, a discussion paper prepared by a representative group of people involved in various aspects of life in Brent (1973).
16 See Barth F, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (Allen and Unwin, 1970) p 10.

Selected CRC Publications

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF CHILDREN FROM MINORITY GROUPS: Reference Series No 1, price 30p.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF NON-SPEAKING WORKERS: WHAT INDUSTRY MUST DO: Reference Series No 2, price 30p.

UNEMPLOYMENT & HOMELESSNESS: A Report Reference Series No 3 (HMSO), price £1.00.

ONE YEAR ON: A Report on the resettlement of the refugees from Uganda in Britain. Reference Series No 4, price 75p.

RESPONSE TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE: Reference Series No 5, price 60p.

FOSTERING BLACK CHILDREN: Reference Series No 6, price 30p.

REFUGE OR HOME?: A Policy Statement on the Resettlement of Refugees. Reference Series No 7, price 75p.

SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS. . .: A Report on Race Relations Attitudes: Reference Series No 8, price 45p.

THE ARTS BRITAIN IGNORES: The Arts of Ethnic Minorities in Britain—by Naseem Khan, price £1.50.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE IN A LONDON BOROUGH, price 25p.

IN SERVICE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS IN MULTI-RACIAL AREAS—An Evaluation of Current Practice, price 60p.

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WEDNESDAY'S CHILDREN: A Report on under-fives provision in Handsworth, price 35p.

WHO MINDS?: A Study of Working Mothers and Childminding in Ethnic Minority Communities, price 75p.

PARTICIPATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE GENERAL ELECTION, October 1974, price 45p.

DON'T RUSH ME: The Comic-Strip, Sex Education and a Multi-Racial Society by Sarah Curtis, price 35p.

A SECOND CHANCE: Further Education in Multi-Racial Areas, price £1.35p.

DOCTORS FROM OVERSEAS: A Case for Consultation. Reference Series No 9, price 50p.